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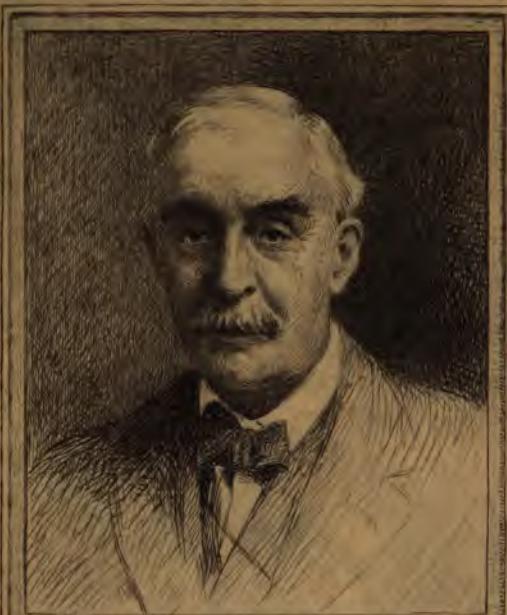
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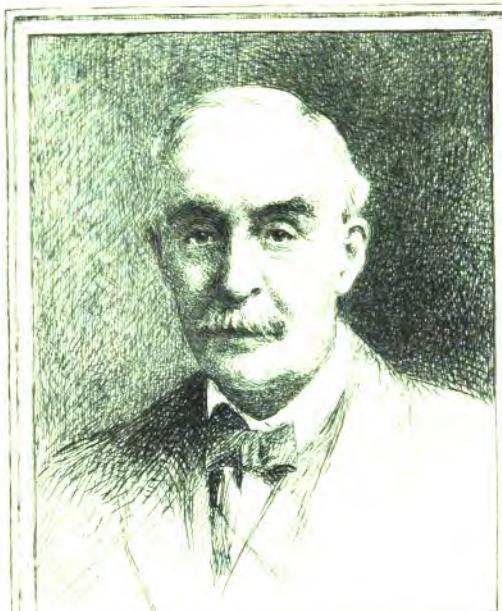
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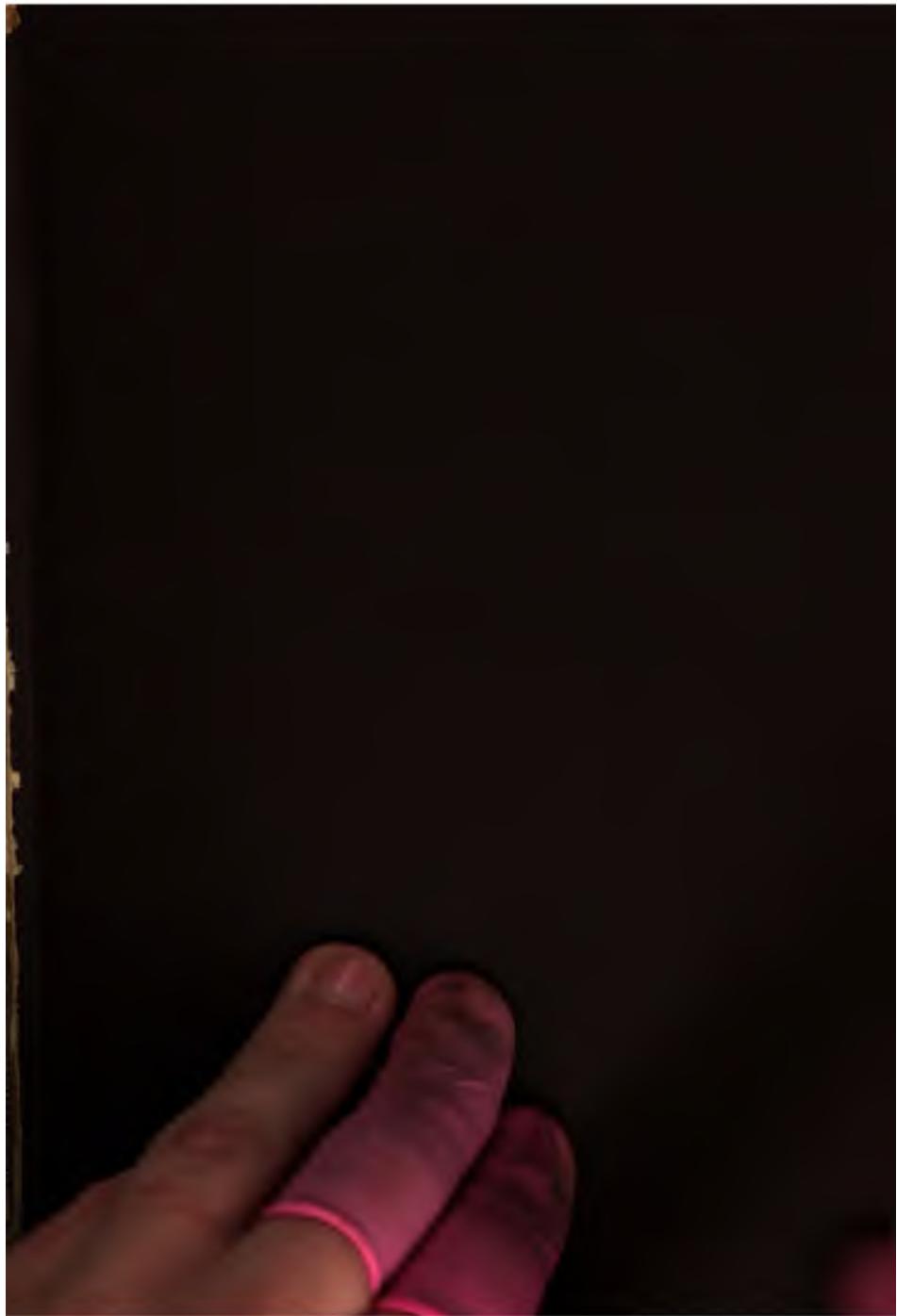
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## **THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.**



THE  
HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

BY  
Émile BOUZIQUE,  
A RETIRED MEMBER OF THE FRENCH LEGISLATURE AND THE FRENCH BAR,  
AUTHOR OF "LES SATIRES DE JUVENAL TRADUITES EN VERS FRANÇAIS," "THEATRE ET  
SOUVENIR," ETC.

*TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH ORIGINAL WITH  
THE CONCURRENCE OF THE AUTHOR,*

BY

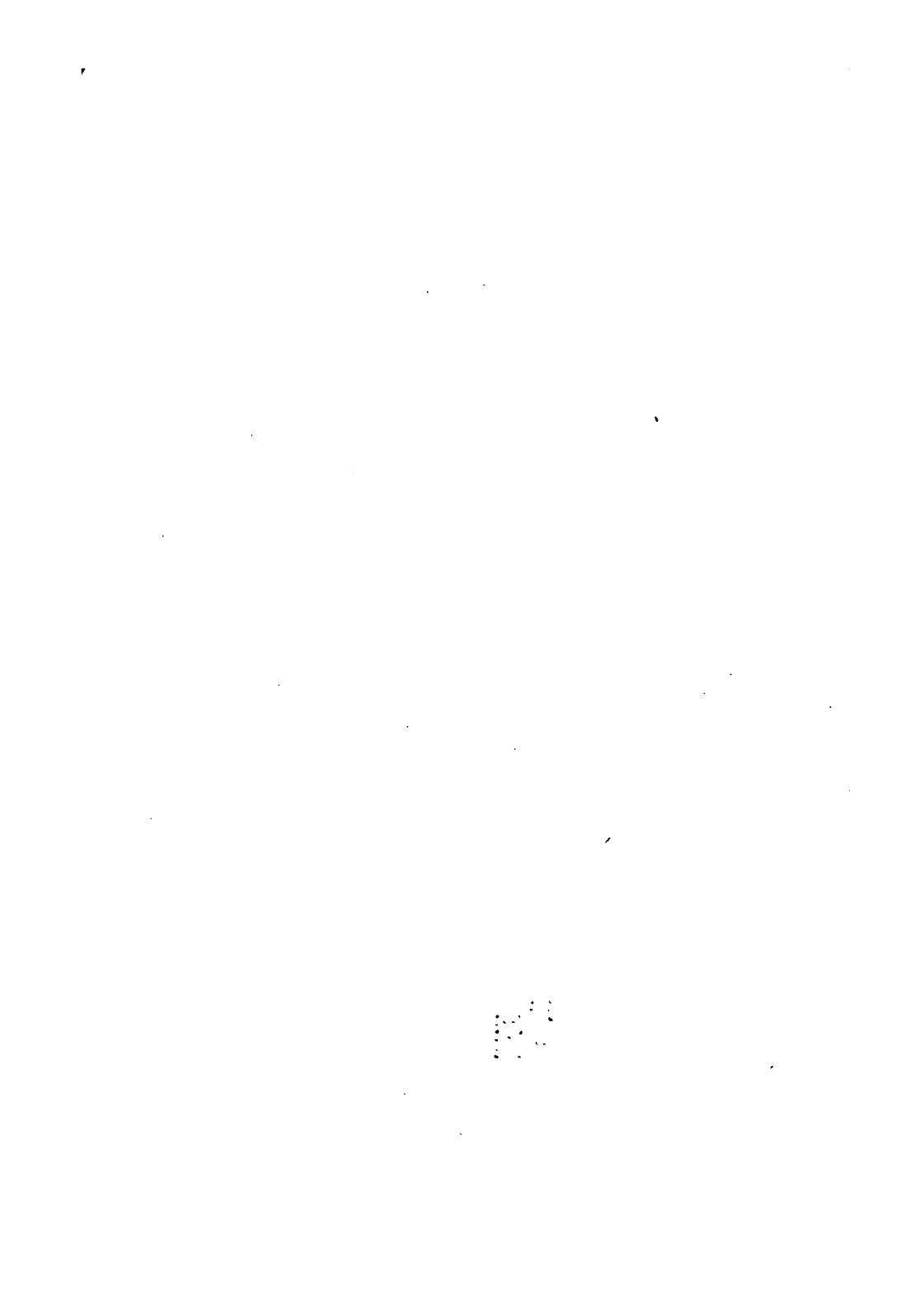
JOHN R. BEARD, D.D.

"And ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."—  
JOHN viii. 32.

VOLUME III.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, LONDON & EDINBURGH.

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# HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

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FROM THE END OF THE CRUSADES TO THE REFORMATION.

(1291-1517).

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THE see of Rome had been vacant for twenty-seven months when the choice of Cardinals finally calls thither Peter Mouron, founder of the order of the Celestins, who is proclaimed under the name of Celestin V. (1294). He was a simple person lacking the ability of action necessary in such a position. He soon regrets his recluse's cell, and lays down the tiara after a pontificate of five months. Boniface VIII., his successor (1294-1303), had him actively watched in consequence of doubts which arise on the validity of his renunciation. Celestin escapes ; he is captured, and he is banished into a castle in Campania, where he remains until his death (1296). Among those who contested the resignation of Celestin, and consequently the election of Boniface, two cardinals were distinguished, James and Peter Colonna, uncle and nephew. Boniface summons them to appear before the sacred college, to declare whether they account him or not for true pope (1297). They avoid the summons. But withdrawing into a castle they by a public act charge with nullity the dismissal of Celestin and all that followed. They are excommunicated and persecuted as heretics and schismatics. Their palaces and houses in Rome were beaten down. A crusade is published to drive them out of Palestine and other places which they occupy. They obtain pardon by giving up Palestine which the pope ruins from bottom to top. The Colonnae rushing anew into rebellion take refuge, as well as their partisans, in France, in Sicily, or other places, until the death of Boniface VIII. According to a treaty concluded between Charles II., King of Naples, and King James of Aragon, the island of Sicily was to be put at the disposal of the pope. But Frederic of Aragon, far from giving it up, gets himself elected and

crowned king by the Sicilians (1296) in spite of the bulls that are fulminated against him. The affair terminates by a marriage between that prince and the daughter of Charles II.; Frederic remains king of Sicily during his life on condition of acknowledging himself vassal of the pope (1303). Toward the end of the thirteenth century, Boniface VIII. institutes the festival which bears the name of Jubilee, in virtue of which full remission of their sins is granted to those who, each last year of the century, shall visit the churches of Saint Peter and Saint Paul at Rome. This festival is a source of fortune for the inhabitants, and a striking manifestation of the pontifical power. Boniface VIII., full of the spirit of Gregory VII., considers himself established by God over kings and kingdoms. But the times are no longer the same, his pretensions call forth stout resistance. He orders to appear before him Charobert, grandson of Mary, Queen of Naples, and Ladislaus, son of the King of Bohemia, who disputed with each other the crown of Hungary (1302). Charobert sends representatives, Ladislaus declines the authority of the pontiff. Boniface awards the kingdom to Charobert. But none the less the civil war proceeds, and the pope's elect one is not recognised by the two parties till after the death of the King of Bohemia (1308). The pontiff is not more successful in his efforts to re-establish peace between France and England; on both sides his legates are disallowed. With full authority he commands a truce between the parties, who do not listen to him. The two kings, taxing the clergy as well as the people in order to meet the expenses, Boniface issues his mandate *Clericis laicos* which forbids clerics to pay anything to the laity, and the laity to require anything from the clerics without the authority of the Holy See. The mandate is published in all the churches of England by the Archbishop of Canterbury. But in France Philip the Bel issues an ordinance which forbids all persons to transport out of the kingdom gold or silver, food, arms, horses, or munitions of war; foreigners are equally interdicted to reside in his estates, and to carry on commerce there (1296). The pope replies by a Bull in which he takes the position of

judge in regal differences, and threatens Philip with extraordinary remedies. The clergy of France, witnessing the murmurs raised by the mandate *Clericis*, protests against Boniface VIII. Another bull explains that the first does not extend to voluntary gifts or loans made by the clergy, nor to the services and dues owing by the ecclesiastics in consequence of their fiefs ; it is even added that in case of necessity for the defence of the state, a subsidy may be demanded and levied by the king without consulting the pope (1297). This affair had no other consequences. A difficulty arises between Boniface and the king of England. That prince having captured Scotland from John Baliol, the pontiff claims it as a property of the Roman Church. But Edward I. maintains that it is a dependence on England, and the pope is contented with obtaining the liberty of John Baliol (1299). In Germany three electors who wish to depose Adolph of Nassau, offer the imperial crown to Albert of Austria, son of Rodolph. The pope pronounces for Adolph of Nassau, but the electors do not cease to pursue their enterprise (1298). An appeal is made to arms. Adolphus falls in battle near Spires. All the electors then combine in favour of Albert, who is crowned at Aix-la-chapelle. Boniface persists in not recognising him. He enjoins on the three ecclesiastical electors to cite him before the court of Rome, to purge himself from the crime of high treason committed against king Adolphus, and of persecutions against the church. Albert marches against those electors, who are disposed to obey the pope, and forces them into an accommodation with himself. At a later day, he is reconciled with the pontifical see. The prince engages to defend the pope against all his enemies, and Boniface, with his plenary power, accepts him as king of the Romans, and orders him to be recognised (1303). Grave disagreements then separated the pontiff and Philip the Bel. The king of France had arrested a bishop of Pamiers, who conspired against him, and had placed him under guard with the Archbishop of Narbonne, his metropolitan (1301). The pope is requested to strip the culprit of his order and his clerical character, in order that he may be punished accord-

ing to his deserts. The pontiff gives to the bishop of Pamiers liberty to come into his presence. He addresses to the king the bull *Ausculta fili*, in which he represents himself as set of God over kings and kindgom, to tear down, destroy, ruin, dissipate, plant and build in his name and by his doctrines ; he reproaches him with the abuses which he commits on his government, among others his opposition to the bestowal of benefices by the Holy See, the jurisdiction which he takes to himself over the ecclesiastics, the hindrances which he throws in the way to the use of the spiritual sword by the bishops, the receipt under the name of *Regale*, of the revenue of the bishoprics and abbeys which become vacant ; he declares to him that in regard to him he has sent for the prelates of France in order to consult them in all those facts, and he invites him to be present in person or by his representative, if he is not he shall proceed with the matter in his absence. When this bull came into the hands of Philip le Bel his first care was to commit it to the flames publicly (1302). He then convokes a Parliament at Paris. The lords and the commons declare themselves ready to support him against the pope. The people of the church wish to temporise. Hesitating to reply, they promise to assist the king with their councils and their succour, but they ask permission to repair to Rome ; this is refused to them. The prelates then appeal to the pope's prudence, who answers with much bitterness. Despite the absence of most of the French prelates Boniface none the less holds his council in Rome. The famous decretal *Unam Sanctam* is regarded as the work of that assembly. There it is taught that there is only one Church, having one sole body and one sole head, who is Jesus Christ, and Peter his vicar, and the successor of Peter ; that in the church there are two swords, the spiritual and the temporal, of which the last is put into the hands of kings, but to be used according to the order or permission of the priest ; that every human creature is subject to the Roman pontiff. By a bull published the same day, Boniface excommunicates in a general way whosoever keeps back those who are going to the Holy See or hinders them from repairing thither freely. Cardinal

Lemoine repairs to France as legate to set forth the complaint and pretensions of the pope. Philip replies in a respectful manner but maintains the rights of his crown. The pontiff, impatient of opposition, declares that proceedings will be taken against the king if he does not correct his answers (Feb. 1303).

Philip holds at the Louvre an assembly of some prelates and high lords, to which William of Nogaret, professor of law in Toulouse, presents a paper against Boniface VIII. In it he maintains that the latter seized the Holy See without right and by bad ways, that he is a manifest heretic, a horrible simonist, accused of enormous crimes, hardened and incorrigible ; and he concludes in demanding the convocation of a general council to try Boniface, and after his condemnation, to provide the Church with a true pastor (March 1303). The pope, through his legate, denounces excommunication against Philip le Bel, and communicates to the confessor of that prince an order to be in Rome within three months, to be there treated according to his merits (13th April). A bull transfers the crown of France to Albert of Austria.

In another assembly held in the Louvre (June), high lords, representing parties against the Pope, draw up a charge of twenty-nine heads, and demand the convocation of a general council. Philip promises to attend to it ; all in common appeal to that council from the steps which Boniface may take. The Pope replies by several bulls against Philip ; he suspends all the doctors that have, in France, power to license to teach and direct ; he reserves for his own disposal all the bishoprics and abbeys of the kingdom which are or shall be vacant (Aug.) In the month of March, William de Nogaret was sent into Italy with secret orders to seize the Pope, and to bring him to Lyons where the general council is to be held. He comes to an understanding with the party of the Colonnae ; while the pontiff is residing at Agnani, they make an irruption into the place (Sept.), seize his person, and keep him a prisoner three days, until the population of the city take up arms and deliver him. Boniface retires to Rome furious at the insult which he has received, and meditating great pro-

jects of revenge, which his death frustrated (11th Oct. 1303). With him ended the universal monarchy of the popes. They take care to preserve the pretensions and the recollections of it. But the people emancipated believe in it no longer, and the pontiffs will not speak of it themselves except under the shelter of their spiritual power. Most of the cardinals had disapproved the violent deeds of Boniface. Benedict XI. (1303-4) absolves from all censures the French king, lords and ecclesiastics. No exception was made except in the case of William de Nogaret, who is cited to appear in court at Rome with Sciarra Colonna and eleven others. Benedict equally revokes all that his predecessor did against the two cardinals of that name. He dies at Perusia in July 1304, poisoned, as was supposed.

After a vacancy of eleven months, the influence of Philip le Bel elects Bertrand Von Got, archbishop of Bordeaux, with whom he has stipulated the conditions. Clement V., as the Gascon Pope was called (1305-14), is crowned at Lyons in presence of the king and powerful lords. He there publishes two bulls in favour of Philip le Bel ; one declares that the bull *Unam Sanctam* ought not to act prejudiciously to either the king or the kingdom of France ; the other revokes the bull *Clericis Laicos*, and the declarations which followed it. Clement V. betakes himself to Poitiers (1307), where he remains an entire year, and holds conferences with Philip on different subjects. This prince insists on maintaining an accusation of heresy against Boniface VIII., whose memory he wishes to condemn, and whose bones he wishes to burn. With much difficulty the Pope gets the affair referred to the decision of a general council. In the way of compensation, he revokes all the sentences and constitutions pronounced from the 1st of November 1300 against the honour, the rights, and the liberties of the king and the kingdom ; Nogaret himself receives absolution under certain conditions and acts of penitence.

In these conferences the question of a crusade for the Holy Land is also agitated. Clement had already sent for, to this effect, the master of the hospital and that of the

temple. The latter obeys without delay; the master of the hospital remains in the East to attack the Isle of Rhodes, occupied by the Turks, an enterprise which lasts four years. The suppression of the Order of the Temple is the principal business which is treated of at Poitiers between the pope and the king. This order, which rivalled in power and wealth princes and potentates, had long been decried for its pride, its luxury, its violence, and its dissoluteness. The same reproaches, to say the truth, assailed the hospitallers and numbers of churchmen at the moment when new crusades were meditated. This vindictive spirit of Philip le Bel seems to have been the first cause of their loss. In different seditions occasioned in his kingdom by too rigorous edicts, immoderate exactions, and the falsification of the coin, the Templars showed themselves favourable to the popular movements. They were also reproached with having taken part with Boniface in his struggles with the king. Their immense wealth also excited the envy of a prince, by no means scrupulous as to the means of procuring money. A pretext for the prosecution was necessary. They are accused of heresy and divers other crimes. The extinction of the order is resolved on. The Pope orders all the Templars that are in Cyprus to be arrested. Secret instructions from the king cause them all to be apprehended the same day throughout France (13th Oct. 1307); the general master is seized in the house of the temple in Paris. They are handed over to the inquisitors; they are compelled to confess the crimes imputed to them, some by the violence of torture, others by its fear; others are brought to confession by promises or threats. The provincial council of Paris condemns a certain number, either to simple penitence or to rigorous imprisonment. Those who retract their admissions are handed over to the secular power as relapsed persons; fifty-nine are burned at the same time near the Abbey Saint Antoine; all protest their innocence. By order of Clement V., the knights of the temple are arrested in Germany, Italy, and Spain. But in these lands, persons guilty of particular crimes only are punished; the rest are referred to the Pope's decision.

While charging the inquisitors and bishops with the prosecutions, Clement had reserved, for commissioners of his choice, the question of the general state of the order, and for the See of Rome the trial of the grand-master and the principal commanders. The proceedings of the commissioners, begun about the end of 1309, do not terminate till June 1311. In the interval, the Pope removed from Poitiers to Avignon, where he had resolved to fix his abode. The exigences of Philip le Bel doubtless had influence on his determination; but they are not the only cause. Above all things, the pontiff feared the continued troubles that desolated Italy. From the extinction of the house of Suabia (1268), the Germans had not passed the Alps; the empire remained without head during the rivalry of Richard of England and of Alphonso of Castille; Rodolph of Hapsburg had limited himself to the consent that the court of Rome should take possession of Romagna, and that the Italian cities should sell their liberties; Adolphe of Nassau and Albert of Austria had not been able to occupy themselves with Italy. In the absence of the authority of the emperors, the municipal power had prevailed in most of the cities, and specially at Rome. The position of the popes was very precarious in that city which was agitated by popular movements and the factions of the barons of the country. It is easy to conceive that Clement V. would prefer the quiet leisure of Provence. He inhabits Avignon with his court, until the time of the general council of Vienne, which he had appointed for the year 1308. This council (the fifteenth of the Latins) met the 1st of October 1311. Independently of the affair of the Templars, it has for object, according to the bull of convocation, to provide for the Catholic faith, to recover the Holy Land, to reform ecclesiastical morals and discipline. The sentence against the Templars was pronounced in secret consistory. The Pope, without having heard them, breaks and annuls that military order, reserving for his own disposal and the disposal of the Church, persons and property (22d March 1312). By an ulterior decision, the property is given to the Order of the Hospitallers, except those of Spain, which

are destined to the defence of the country against the Moors. In regard to persons, Clement V. takes on himself the judgment of some and abandons that of the others to the council of each province. The proceedings against the memory of Boniface VIII. end with a declaration to the effect that he remained pure of all heresy ; but at the same time, it was decided that Philip or his successors could not be reproached with what was done against that pontiff and against the Church.

The attention of the assembly then turns to the schism which divides the order of the minor brothers. It is desirable to enter into some details on this point. During the lifetime of François d'Assisi, some of the brothers complained of the excessive rigour of his rule. This had led him in his will to require that it should be understood and practised in its simplicity without the addition of glosses. On his death, lively disagreements show themselves among the members of the order. Some wish to make the rule milder, others clove to its strict observance. The former obtain a bull from Gregory IX. (1230). But those who were zealous for the observance reject all explanations and interpretations of the Roman court. The two parties long dispute for pre-eminence in the community, one over the other.

In the year 1279, Pope Nicholas III., well disposed towards the Minor Brothers, publishes a Bull *Exiit qui seminat* with an entirely conciliatory object. You there read, among other things, that the Brothers, according to this rule, ought to have nothing in the way of private property, whether in common or individually, (renunciation of all property, says the Pontiff, which Jesus Christ taught by word and by example). Nevertheless, the simple use as a matter of fact was allowed ; for this use is necessary for subsistence. The right of property, which they could not have, the Bull ascribes to the Pope, and to the Roman Church, as for utensils, books, furniture, the use of which belongs to the Brothers, so for places purchased by the product of alms, given or left to the Order. In regard to money, the reception of which by them or by others the

rule forbids, it is explained that the property and possession of that destined to them remains with the giver, until the third party, charged with employing it, has converted it into the thing of which they are in need.

Notwithstanding this Bull, the division continues to subsist among the Franciscans. The most heated partizans of the observance obtain from Celestin V. permission to live according to their rule, and power to remain together wherever they please (1294). A certain number pass into Achaia, where they build a habitation in a small island. The general chapter of the Order expels them under Boniface VIII. (1303). At Naples, the Inquisition pursues them as heretics ; they are put to the torture, imprisoned, publicly flogged, expelled from the kingdom ; the survivors betake themselves to Clement V. In Provence they combine with other Minor Brothers who, like them, had separated by zeal for the observance. The same secession took place in other provinces. From this time there are in the Order two distinct parties ; the spiritual or brothers of the observance, and the conventionals or brothers of the community. The latter are the more numerous ; the others, nevertheless, succeed in maintaining themselves especially in the Provençal countries. Clement V. takes cognizance of the affair. Papers are prepared on both sides. The debate is prolonged until the time of the general council of Vienna, which in this respect issues a constitution of which the principal requirements are these : the Minor Brothers are not held more strictly than other Christians to the observance of the Gospel ; the pope declares what are the words of their rule which have the force of precepts. They ought not to wear several coats without necessity ; their superiors determine, according to the country, the lowest price of their cloth, as also for their shoes. The Brothers are forbidden, to receive money by begging or otherwise, to have busts in their churches, to address themselves to their spiritual friends in regard to money, unless in the cases expressed in their rule, or in the declaration of Nicholas III. (1277-1280). They will be satisfied with the sparing use of necessary things according to the requirement of the

rule. We shall soon see that this regulation did not put an end to the schism.

The general council afterwards pronounced anathema on certain doctrines already condemned by the fourth general council of the Lateran (1215), but which were nevertheless found in great credit among the brothers of the observance. They proceeded originally from Joachim, abbot of Flores. That abbot (died in 1202) had made himself celebrated by his prophecies and different works. Nevertheless, errors were at a later time pointed out in his writings ; and the general council of 1215 had condemned one on the Trinity. But what specially commended Joachim de Flores, was an excessive rigour in the practice of morality, he extolled before all things the excellence of the monastic life. His disciples went beyond their master in these precepts. Among them there were many Minor Brothers of the observance, for instance, John de Parma, one of the generals of the Order, who, for that cause, had been compelled to lay down his dignity, and condemned to a long imprisonment (1256), which was afterwards commuted into a withdrawal into a monastery. John de Parma passed for the author of the *Everlasting Gospel, or the Gospel of the Holy Spirit* in which you find what follows : "The doctrine of the abbot Joachim leads to perfection, whither the Gospel of Jesus Christ does not lead. In the year 1260, the New Testament will be abolished as the ancient was. Then shall come the times of the Holy Spirit, or of perfection, the third age of the world. There shall be another gospel and another priesthood. The pope knows only the literal sense of the New Testament, and not the spiritual sense. Jesus Christ and his apostles were not perfect in the contemplative life ; it began to fructify only since the appearance of Joachim. There shall arise another religious order more worthy than all the rest."

Joachimites, who were condemned in the provincial council of Arles (1261), said in the same sense : "The Father worked from the beginning of the world to the advent of the Son ; the Son will work until 1260 (the 1260 days marked in the *Apocalypse*) ; after him will come the opera-

tion of the Holy Spirit. In the first age, they lived according to the flesh, in the second according to the flesh and the spirit, in the third only according to the spirit.

John of Parma had had many partizans among the Minor Brothers, among others, Peter John d'Olive, who, full of an ardent zeal for the rigour of the observance, had in most of his works taken pains to criticise the opinions of John of Parma and the abbot Joachim. A general chapter of the Order had already condemned the memory of Peter John. His doctrines are brought before the general council of Vienna, which pronounces anathema against different errors ascribed to him. But it was not solely among the Franciscans that Peter John d'Olive counted adherents. He was not less venerated by a crowd of laymen who called themselves brothers of the third order of Saint François, and by the sects of the Beguards, Beguins, Bizoques or Fratricelli (Little Brethren) of whom we must say some words. The Beguards or Beguins appeared in the thirteenth century. The name, according to its German etymology, was given to persons who worshipped God with ardour, and in general to those who affected a particular air of devotion ; there were then more than thirty sects, who gave themselves up wholly to mendicity. By the same appellation of Beguards were designated members of the third order of François d' Assisi, and the tertiaries of the other orders, as well as the brothers and sisters of the true spirit, who, connected with oriental pantheism, asserted that by the force of contemplation man could raise himself to God and become his son in the same sense as Jesus Christ ; and also the white brothers (according to the colour of their clothes), who, at the time of the Western schism, traversed Italy and Germany imploring peace with loud cries. The Beguards, who were brought before the general council of Vienna, taught among other things that man, even in this life, may acquire such a degree of perfection as to be entirely impeccable, and obtain even here the final beatitude ; that then he has no longer occasion to pray, to obey other men, to submit to the commands of the Church, or to exercise himself in the practice of virtue. These doctrines were condemned by a decree which

enjoins on the bishops and inquisitors to seek out and punish the Beguards and the Beguins, a decree which will give occasion to incessant pursuits and cruel executions by the faggot. Another decision of the Council restored the law by which Boniface VIII. (1294) had regulated the differences of the parish priests with the preaching and minor brothers, a law which was revoked by Benedict XI. (1303). Different decrees relate to the morals and the conduct of the clergy ; it is forbidden for clerics, even when married, to exercise certain professions, to carry on business, or to bear arms ; the bull *Clericis laicos* is applied to ecclesiastical immunities. The authorities consecrate the festival of the Holy Sacrament instituted forty-eight years before by Urban IV. (1261), whose Bull had not received execution. Finally, the general council orders a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. The kings of France, England and Navarre join in the engagement ; and, to meet the cost of the enterprise, the pope authorised the levy of a tenth during six years. In execution of the sentence passed by the Council, the order of the Templars is abolished throughout the world. They are everywhere arrested, questioned, subjected to torture, consigned to the flames, or punished with other penalties. The Grand Master, the Visitor of France, and the Commanders of Aquitaine and Normandy, on their confession of facts imputed to them, were condemned by the commissioners to perpetual imprisonment. The Grand Master and the Commander of Normandy afterwards retract and protest their innocence. They are placed in the hands of the Mayor of Paris, who, the same evening, burns them by the king's order, on a small island of the Seine (11th March 1314). In the midst of the flames they persist in their denial with a firmness which strikes all who are present. It is said, that when on the point of expiring, the Grand Master, James de Molay, cited the Pope to appear in forty days before the tribunal of God, and the king within a year, words doubtless fabricated after the event, but which seem like a cry of the public conscience. Philip le Bel and the other princes, after his example, take possession of the greatest part of the spoils of the order. During the prose-

cution of the Templars, the emperor Albert died assassinated by his nephew (1308). Henry VII., count of Luxembourg, is elected in his place, and recognised by Clement V. as king of the Romans. After taking at Lausanne, before the pope's commissioners, an oath to defend the church, and confirmed the donations of former emperors, he goes, followed by a great army, to receive at Milan the iron crown of the Lombards, and at Rome the imperial crown given him by the delegated delegates (1312). Clement V. (1305), pretending that the prince had taken an oath of fidelity to him, Henry publicly protests that neither he nor his predecessors have ever taken such an oath. He dies a little after near Sienna, poisoned, it is said, while communicating from the hand of a preaching brother (1313). Clement publishes two Bulls against his memory, and declares that the oath taken at Rome is an oath of homage and faith. The emperors, however, see in it only a promise of protection for the Head of the Church. After an interregnum of fourteen months, Louis V. of Bavaria is elected king of the Romans by five electors, and Frederick of Austria by the two others, great troubles spring from their rivalry. On the death of Clement V. (20th April 1314), division among the cardinals delays for two years the nomination of his successor. The Italian Cardinals wished to return to Rome; the conclave finally assembles at Lyons and makes choice of John XXII., born at Cahors (1316-34). Under the popes of Avignon, French by birth, most of the cardinals were of the same nation.

John XXII. seeks at first to take up the position of the arbiter of the empire; defeated by Louis of Bavaria, he makes an alliance with his competitor. But the Ghibelins get the upper hand in Italy. Matthew Visconti, their chief, becomes prince and lord of Milan, of which he was Podestat (1317). He is excommunicated by the pope, who decrees a crusade against him. Matthew disregards it. In dying he transmits his power to his five sons, the eldest of whom, Galeas, is at the head of the Ghibelins (1322). The army of the pope lays siege to Milan. But at this moment Louis of Bavaria gains a sanguinary battle over his rival, who remains a captive in his hands, and renounces his pre-

tensions. The siege of Milan is raised. The pontiff publishes an admonition to Louis of Bavaria, who appeals from it to the Holy See and demands the convocation of a general council. The Visconti defeat the papal army. A new crusade is published against them and their adherents. A second admonition is issued against Louis of Bavaria. John XXII. declares him deprived, as a contumacious person, of every right resulting from his election (1324). Louis holds a grand diet to demand the convocation of a general council, and appeals to that council from all that the pope may do against the empire and its head.

In 1327 Louis of Bavaria passes into Italy to succour the Ghibelins against the King of Naples, Robert, son of Charles the lame. He presides over a diet at Trent, receives the iron crown at Milan, and seizes Pisa. A declaration of the pope declares him heretical, and as such deprived of all right to the Palatinate of the Rhine and the empire. At the entrance of the Bavarian prince into Italy, the Roman people rose against the government of the nobles, for fear lest they should put their city into the hands of the king of Naples. Louis arrives at Rome and is crowned by two bishops whom John XXII. had excommunicated. He holds in the place of Saint Peter a parliament in which the pope is deposed as convicted of heresy and treason. A law, passed with the concurrence of the senators and the chiefs of the people, requires the sovereign pontiff to reside in Rome under pain of dethronement. Peter de Corbière is named pope by the election of the people and installed under the name of Nicholas V. (1447).

He crowns Louis of Bavaria afresh. But the affairs of that emperor soon go on declining. He retires to Viterbo with the antipope and thence to Pisa, where he remains several months (1329). After his departure, the Pisans agree with the Guelphs. Peter de Corbière hides himself in the city and its neighbourhood, and ends by being delivered up on condition of his life being spared. Conducted to Avignon, he abjures in the presence of the pope who keeps him a prisoner until his death (1333). Some of the German princes make an effort to reconcile Louis of Bavaria,

and John XXII. The monarch offers all kinds of satisfaction, on the condition that the empire is preserved ; but the pontiff refuses and sets about electing a competitor.

Meanwhile the schism of the Minor Brothers still subsisted, despite the regulation passed in the general council of Vienna. After the death of Clement V., the spirituels separated from the body of the order, during the vacancy of the Holy See. In Provence and Languedoc they drive away with arms the other brothers of the convents, take to themselves separate chiefs, and clothe themselves in garments more short and more narrow. Several brothers come to join them from different provinces. The general of the Order having afterwards obtained from John XXII. a law analogous to that of Clement V., the spirituels of Provence and Languedoc appeal to the pope when better informed. He makes them come into his presence and enjoins on them to return to the obedience of their order. Twenty-five persist, saying that the rule revealed to Saint François has the same force as the Gospel, and that the pope could not set it aside. They are given up to the Inquisition ; four of them are burnt alive (1318). Like those of Provence, the spirituels of Sicily had separated from the Order and had taken small cowls and closely fitting garments. They are also accused of holding opinions suspected of heresy. John XXII. orders King Frederick to drive them out of the island, and to send them to their superiors. But they conceal themselves in Sicily or disperse among the infidels. A new bull orders the bishop to arrest them, and to replace them in the hands of the heads of the Order. Independently of the Brothers of the Observance, there existed in Italy, Sicily, Provence, Languedoc, and otherwheres, a multitude of Fratricelli, Bizoques, Beguins and others who, clad in a particular attire, lived in common and begged publicly, as if they had been of an approved religious institution. Some declared that they belonged to the third order of Saint François. The pope published against them the bull *Sancta Romana*, which commands them to dissolve under pain of excommunication, and directs the same penalty

against the bishops and other prelates who should authorise them to lead such a life (1317).

A short time after, a veritable tempest is raised by the question of the poverty of Jesus Christ. A Bizoque or Beguin is arrested at Narbonne for having maintained that Jesus Christ and his apostles had no property whatever, either in particular or in common (1321). The inquisitor, who was a dominican, wishes to condemn him as a heretic. A Franciscan, called to the council, declares that the point is not a heresy ; but a point defined by the Church in the Decretal *Exit qui seminat*. The inquisitor bids him retract. The Minor (Minorites) refuses and appeals to the pope ; he appears before the consistory ; there he is arrested.

John XXII. propounds publicly the question of the poverty of Jesus Christ to all the prelates and doctors in theology who are in his court (1322). The general chapter of the Franciscans, assembled at Perusia, under the presidency of Michael de Cesene, their general, declares that the proposition was expressly consecrated by the Church in the Decretal *Exit qui seminat*. Then the pope, revoking that decretal of Nicholas III., determines by the regulation *Ad Conditorem* that the Roman Church has for property only the lodgings of the Brothers, their churches and regular places, with the vases, the ornaments, and the books destined for the divine service. The Procureur of the Minorites appeals to the full consistory. The question continues to be discussed ardently. John XXII. finally decides the question by the Decretal *Cum inter nonnullos* (1323). He then declares erroneous and heretical the proposition that Jesus Christ and his apostles, having no property whether in particular or in common, could not use the things which they possessed—sell them, give them, or acquire them from others. Michael de Cesene persists in maintaining the decree of the general chapter of Perusia ; he is also suspected of being secretly in favour of the emperor. Sent for to Avignon, and consigned to the pontifical court (1327), he there finds two other Franciscans that are kept there equally ; Bonnegrâce of Bergamo and William Occam. The latter had restored Nominalism to honour in the schools of Paris, and renewed against the Realists a struggle which was not

to cease until the advent of the Reformation. Now John XXII. was in favour of Realism. Michael de Cesene on the point of being condemned as a heretic, fled from Avignon with Bonnegrâce and William Occam (1328). They repair to Louis of Bavaria in Pisa. Michael is deposed by the pope from his charge of General of the Minors. He appeals to the universal Church and to a future council, without discontinuing his functions. A bull condemns him as a heretic and schismatic, and strips him of all honour, dignity, and office. The chapter of the Order, approving the deposition, chooses another general, and terminates the question of the poverty of Jesus Christ in harmonising as much as possible the decretal of Nicholas III. and the decision of the chapter of Perusia with the constitutions of John XXII. In a bull which he publishes on that occasion, the pontiff says that Jesus Christ as man had property in some goods, and as veritable lord and king in all temporal things. The consequence was that the same power over all the things of this world had been transmitted to Peter and to his putative successors. You now understand what an interest the pope had for combatting the theory of the absolute property of Christ. The Franciscans, who had taken shelter under the Emperor Louis, do not remain quiet in regard to John XXII. whom they accuse of flagrant heresy. Occam distinguishes himself before all by the agility and vigour of his mind. His works eagerly read strike a heavy blow on the pretensions of the court of Rome.

The question of the poverty of Jesus Christ, in which John XXII. had exposed himself to his adversaries, scarcely began to lose its interest, when he himself raises another in which his orthodoxy is still more misused. Towards the end of 1331 he on different occasions teaches that the saints will not see God in essence, except after the resurrection and the last judgment. "Then," says he, "our Lady, the apostles, and the other saints will enter into the joy of their Lord." This doctrine causes much noise and much scandal. Michael de Sesene and the other enemies of the Pope treat him as a heretic. The doctrine is not the less publicly proposed at Avignon by those who wish to please the Pontiff.

The General of the Minorites maintains it at Paris in presence of an infinite number of students whose murmurs it calls forth strongly. Philip de Valois assembles the doctors in theology, with all the bishops and abbots present in the capital (1333). They unanimously reply that the saints at present possess the beatific vision, and that it will not change after the resurrection, but will remain eternally the same. The king bids them put their opinion in writing, and address it to the Pope with some remonstrances.

John XXII., after examining in public consistory the authorities for and against, declares in writing that in what has been said, he has heard nothing decided contrary to the Scriptures and the faith, and that he expressly revokes all those of his words which may seem to have that character (1334). Notwithstanding this vague declaration the Pontiff none the less remains convinced of the truth of his opinion. He finds on the point divergent authorities among the Fathers of the Church. This will be easily understood if you call to mind that in the first ages of Christianity it was thought that the souls of the just were received not into heaven, but into Abraham's bosom, where they did not enjoy the beatific vision, which will be their portion only after the universal resurrection. This opinion gradually grew weaker when Origen and the other Alexandrine Fathers had, according to Platonism, spread the belief that heaven opened to the elect at the moment of their death. At first the apostles and the martyrs were exempted from sojourn in Abraham's bosom ; then after the proscription of Polytheism by Theodosius and his successors, the souls of all the just, who took the place of the ancient gods in the thought of the new converts, ascended to heaven. During the transition from one opinion to the other, there necessarily arose divergencies among the Fathers who wrote at different times, or who showed themselves more or less easy to welcome the new ideas. The Church, it is true, had not issued any decree on the matter, but in the middle ages no one in the Latin communion doubted that the Virgin and the saints, who were then regarded as powerful divinities, were in full possession of the celestial beatitude. What astonishment

must have been produced by the opinion of John XXII. If, it was said, the Virgin and the saints have not the beatific vision, the prayers addressed to them are vain, and the intercession of no effect ; a position which would turn all beliefs topsy-turvy. No one thought of holding to the gospel, which announces rewards for the just and punishments for the wicked, without determining the time and the nature of the one and the other.

It is said that before dying John XXII. declared in the presence of the cardinals, that the souls of the just see God and the divine essence clearly and face to face, so far as is consistent with the state of a separated soul. However it may be in this regard, there is another point which leaves no doubt ; it is that, at the death of that Pope, there were found in the treasury of the Church at Avignon immense values, not only in coined gold, but in plate, crosses, mitres, and other jewels. The Popes of Avignon, drawing little revenue from their possessions in Italy, saw themselves under the necessity of creating other resources. In virtue of their full power as vicars of Jesus Christ, they took to themselves the free disposal of all the ecclesiastical dignities, of all the goods of the Church ; they under different titles made levies on its revenues of all kind. John XXII. signalised himself more than the rest in this kind of operations. The annates, for example, or revenues of a year, which are claimed by the court of Rome for all the benefices it bestows, were collected by anterior popes ; but, to make the return greater, John XXII. sends commissioners throughout Christendom who ascertain the annual product of the benefices, and a tariff is drawn up according to the report which they make. From the same epoch date the rules of the apostolic chancellery, the taxes on benefices, the reserves, expectations, and provisions at the pleasure of the Sovereign Pontiff ; the taxes for dispensations and for sins—all things which were then perfected if not invented. These imposts and exactions raising complaints on all sides, will contribute greatly to the reaction against the power of the popes in the Councils of Constance and Bale. But during the time of the sojourn at Avignon, the authority of the Holy See

seems already lessening in a striking manner. Rome is a centre of troubles and civil wars. The Ghibelins dominate in Italy ; the decrees of the Popes of Provence are despised there. In the other parts of Europe those pontiffs are far from having the same prestige as their predecessors who sat in Rome. One of the first cares of Benedict XIII. (1334-42) is to decide by the Bull *Benedictus Deus*, that the souls of the saints who died before Christ, those of the apostles, of the martyrs, and other faithful who died in a state of grace ; those which were purified after their death ; those of baptised children, who died before the age of reason—all these souls, even before the resurrection and the general judgment, are in heaven with Jesus Christ in the company of the angels, and see the divine essence with an intuitive vision and face to face—a vision which will continue without interruption until the final judgment, and then into eternity. The Bull at the same time defines that the souls of those who die in mortal sin descend immediately into hell to be there tormented, and that nevertheless, on the day of universal judgment, all men will appear with their bodies before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, to render an account of their deeds and to receive the good or the ill which they merit (1336). The spirit of independence which then reigned in the states of the Church in Italy redetermines Benedict XII. to remain at Avignon. He then commences the construction of a palace splendid and well fortified. Negotiations are entered upon with Louis of Bavaria ; they come to nothing by the opposition of the King of France, against whom the emperor made preparations of war. In a diet held at Frankfort Louis publishes a decree to establish that the imperial power does not emanate from the pope, and that the latter is subject to the general council in matters of faith and right divine. But this prince has little influence in Italy. Several Lombard lords are reconciled to the pontiff, among others the brothers de la Scale de Verone and the Visconti of Milan. Different cities of the same country return equally to obedience towards him ; Bologne makes its submission. Benedict XII., however, abstains from taking any measure

against Louis of Bavaria. It is not the same with Clement VI. (1342-52); he places that prince under obligation to renounce all his pretensions in three months (1343), and that delay passed he declares him contumacious. Negotiations proceed afresh, but the conditions proposed by the pope tend to nothing less than the dissolution of the empire; the nobles of Germany set themselves against them. Clement VI., after concerting with John, King of Bohemia, and the other princes of the house of Luxembourg, pronounces against Louis of Bavaria a sentence which, confirming the condemnations already pronounced by John XXII., enjoins on the electors to proceed to the nomination of a king of the Romans, unless provision is made by the Holy See. Five electors designate the eldest son of the King of Bohemia, Charles of Luxembourg, known under the name of Charles IV. (1346). Some weeks after that prince becomes King of Bohemia by the death of his father, killed at the battle of Cressy. Clement confirms the election by a Bull, in which he declares that God has given to the pope, in the person of Saint Peter, the full power over the celestial empire as well as the terrestrial.

Louis of Bavaria dies the year after. Although he was not absolved from excommunication, he is nevertheless interred with great pomp, in a church of Munich, by the care of his son, the Marquis de Brandenburg. His partizans elect, in opposition to Charles IV., a new king of the Romans, who retires soon after. About this time, the Court of Rome buys of Jeanne, Queen of Naples, the jurisdiction which belonged to her, as Countess of Provence, over the city of Avignon, with all its appendages. Married very young to Andrew, son of Charobert, King of Hungary, Jeanne had in 1342 succeeded her grandfather, Robert. Andrew being assassinated by his domestics, a suspicion of complicity falls on his widow (1345). Louis, king of Hungary, brother of the deceased, seizes Naples, and demands of the pope to recognise him in the quality of king.; on the refusal of the Pontiff, he returns to his estates. Jeanne, married in second marriage to Louis, prince of Tarentum, had come with him to seek a refuge in Avignon. After the departure of the

king of Hungary, she makes arrangements for returning to Naples ; and the need of money for the journey forces her to sell to the Church Avignon and its dependencies (1348). Others say that the sale was dissimulated, and that the city of Avignon had been given by Jeanne as the price for the absolution of her crime.

Under the pontificate of Clement VI., a general plague raged over the different regions of Europe, and destroyed, according to some, a fifth, according to others, a third of the population. This is for the multitude a new opportunity for falling on the Jews, who are always hateful. The canons published against their nation in the fourth general council of the Lateran (1215) must have confirmed in the eyes of the people all the misdeeds with which they were reproached by public malevolence. Accordingly during the course of the 13th and 14th centuries, you see a renewal of the accusations made against them of infanticide, and crucifixion perpetrated during holy week. After the dogma of transubstantiation had been recognised, you find added stories of hosts profaned, lacerated, pierced, and all bloody under-blows alleged to have been given by the Jews—terrible imputations in ages of fanatical ignorance. These old wives' tales expose them every day to all kinds of vexations, cruelties, imprisonment, fines, confiscations, banishment, popular massacres, fires of the Inquisition. During the ravages of the plague, the exasperated populations imagine that their accusers have thrown poison into the wells and fountains. They are run down by them ; a great number are burnt, or have their throats cut, especially in Germany. Nothing equally bad, it must be said, is done in the country of Avignon. The pope even publishes Bulls in their favour. But none the less do the acts of violence continue in different places during the following year. This general plague doubtless contributes to increase the fanaticism for the second jubilee, which is celebrated in Rome in 1350. Clement VI. had reduced to fifty years the interval between one jubilee and another. The concourse of pilgrimages is prodigious. In the first months of the year there is continually in Rome a million or twelve hundred thousand

strangers, at Ascension and Pentecost more than eight hundred thousand, and two hundred thousand during the latter months. In the time of Innocent VI. (1352-62), the public power in nearly all the cities and places of the States and the Church, was in the hands of lords who had usurped it. Innocent, wishing to remedy the evil, sends into Italy Cardinal Aborzo, in the quality of legate, and adjoins to him Rienzi, formerly a tribune of Rome. Rienzi was an able man who, advanced to the tribuneship by popular acclamation (1347), had overturned the power of the nobles, and purged Rome and its environs from the robbers by whom it was infested. He wished to restore that city to its ancient splendour, and make it the capital of the world, the centre of religion. In this view he declared all the people of Italy free and Roman citizens, claiming for them the right to elect the emperors. But he took care, at the same time, to publish that he meant in no way to derogate from the authority of the Church, the pope, and the cardinals ; he even alleged a commission from Clement VI. for the government of the city of Rome. Abandoned in the end by the people, Rienzi seeks a refuge with Louis of Hungary, then master of Naples, afterwards in Bohemia at the court of Charles IV. He is arrested at the end of some time, and put into the hands of the Archbishop of Prague, who sends him to Avignon (1350), where he remains a prisoner until the death of Clement VI. As he had done nothing against the church, Pope Innocent pardons him, and sends him with his legate, in the idea of obtaining some services from him. In effect, Rienzi recovers his ancient credit in Rome, and receives from the pope the title of senator. But his power is of short duration. The great excite the people against him ; he is besieged in the capital. In attempting to escape he is recognised and cut to pieces (1354).

Charles IV., who had consolidated his power in Germany, passes into Italy and receives the iron crown at Milan. A delegated cardinal crowns him emperor of Rome, which he quits the same day, according to the promise which he had given to the pope (1355). The following year is published in a diet held at Nuremberg, the *Bull of Gold*, which defin-

itely confirms the right to elect the emperors to the seven princes who had taken it on themselves in 1280. Under Urban V. (1362-70), John, King of France, comes to Avignon, where he meets the king of Cyprus, Peter de Lusignan. John makes a vow to go beyond the seas, and receives the cross from the hands of the pope, who orders an enterprise, of which that prince is to be chief. Death prevents King John from committing this new folly (1364). Several silly crusading acts manifested themselves, without more result, from the commencement of the fourteenth century. After the decree of the Council of Vienne (1312), which prescribed a general gathering, and the levy of a tenth during six years, Philip le Bel, his three sons, his two brothers, Edward I., King of England, and different French noblemen, took an engagement to enter on the task, and the crusade was even published in France ; but everything was limited to the collection of the tithes.

In 1318 the King of France, Philip le Long, and King Edward of England, manifest a desire to go into Palestine. The pope dissuades them from the enterprise on the ground that peace is banished from nearly all Christendom. Charles the Bel also showed great zeal for the Holy Land (1322), but that zeal remains without effect by reason of the wars which come upon the Pope in Italy, and to the king in Guyenne.

Toward the end of 1331, on the demand of Philip de Valois, John XXII. enjoins the bishops of France to preach a crusade in their dioceses. An assembly is held in Paris, where the king declares his intention to deliver the Holy Land. The departure is fixed for the 1st of August 1336. The pope publishes a general gathering, and grants to Philip for six years the tenths of his kingdom. But before the time determined, war breaks out between that prince and Edward II., king of England ; each of them makes use of the tithes levied for the crusade. In the absence of the great powers of the West, Clement VI. unites against the Turks, the King of Cyprus, the Master of the Rhodians, and the Doge of Venice (1343), he himself furnishes some galleys, and grants the tenths to meet the costs. The fleet, sailing from Negropont, takes possession of Smyrna ; the

conquerors are soon besieged in their turn, and not receiving succour, see themselves constrained to accept a truce proposed by the Turks (1346).

Then finally came the projects of King John. After the death of that prince the direction of the Crusade is entrusted to Peter de Lusignan, King of Cyprus. He sets out from Venice with two galleys and some troops (1365). His brother brings him reinforcements to Rhodes, and the master of the Rhodians furnishes him a hundred chevaliers. He has under his orders about ten thousand men, and fourteen hundred horse ; his fleet counts nearly a hundred sail. He disembarks in Egypt, seizes Alexandria, pillages it, and on the morrow gives it up to return to Cyprus. The sole result of this enterprise is to unite the Moslems of Egypt and the Turks against the Christians of Cyprus and Rhodes. Urban V. (1362) had resolved in the early days of his pontificate, to establish his residence in Italy, where Albornoz had at last succeeded in re-constituting the political domain. Notwithstanding the urgencies of the king of France, Charles V., he quits Avignon in April 1367, and in September arrives in Rome, where for sixty-three years the popes had ceased to reside. He is there received, not as the head of the State, but as a sovereign pontiff. The Visconti then bore sway in Lombardy, and seemed on the point of uniting, in a sole kingdom, all northern Italy. At the urgent request of the pope, the Emperor passes the Alps with a considerable army (1368), Verona and Vicenzia are sacked. The Visconti, to turn the storm aside, give large sums of money to Charles IV., who goes to Rome, where the empress is crowned. The emperor had previously confirmed all the pretensions of the pontifical court on Rome, the state of the church, Naples, and Sicily, renouncing all claim on the states of the pope, and undertaking by oath, never to enter them without his permission. After three years of sojourn at Rome, Urban V. returns to Avignon, being desirous of procuring peace between France and England. Death overtakes him on this voyage.

Gregory XI. (1370-78) hurls from Avignon an anathema against the two brothers, Barnabo and Galeas Visconti,

lords of Milan (1372), and attacked them with an army, which gains some advantages.

He cements the peace between the Queen of Naples and Frederic, King of Sicily, and relieves the latter kingdom from censures, which had lain upon it for a long time. Frederic is crowned King of Trinacria.

At the request of Catherine of Sienna, a kind of visionary, of whom a saint has been made, and the urgency of the Romans who threaten to make another pope, Gregory XI. finally determines to quit Provence ; he enters Rome in January 1377. On the report of his approaching return, the majority of the cities and places of the ecclesiastical state, at the instigation of Florence, formed a league for their common defence ; anathemas and armies combatted the insurrection without much success ; Florence opens a negotiation, which is suspended by the death of Gregory (1378). At Rome, it is requested that his successor may be an Italian. The French cardinals divide into two factions. During the conclave, the people surround the conclave, loudly calling for a Roman Pope. Then they elect the Archbishop of Bari, a Neopolitan by birth, who is enthroned under the title of Urban VI. (1378-89). This is the first pope that wore the triple crown.

He is recognised by all the cardinals, who, during three months, pay their obedience to him as a legitimate pontiff. But he alienates them by an excessive rudeness. About the middle of May the discontented members of the sacred college retire to Agnani, where they take care to be guarded by a body of troops. They question the election of Urban as being effected with violence, saying that they had not recovered liberty except since they had left Rome. The declaration is signed by twelve cardinals out of sixteen who formed the conclave. They then betake themselves to Fondi, and choose for pope, Robert of Geneva, one of them, who takes the name of Clement VII. (1378-94). France pronounces in favour of the latter ; but Venceslaus, who has just succeeded to his father, Charles IV., and as King of Bohemia and King of the Romans, remains attached to the cause of Urban VI. Clement VII. repairs to Queen

Jeanne at Naples. The city having declared for Urban, he retires to Avignon the following year. The obedience of Urban comprises the greater part of Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, England, and nearly all the low countries. Clement has at first only France, Scotland, and a part of Italy ; Castille joins afterwards. The rebound of these divisions makes itself felt in the kingdom of Naples. Queen Jeanne, who is in favour of Clement VII., is excommunicated and deposed by Urban : he transfers his crown to Charles de Duras, surnamed de la Paix, a relative of the King of Hungary (1380). Jeanne, to create a support for herself, adopts Louis, Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles V. ; but the affair remains in suspense owing to the death of the King of France. Charles de la Paix marches on Naples, and takes possession of the kingdom ; Jeanne falls into his hands. The Duke of Anjou soon traverses Italy with a fine army, and penetrates into the kingdom of Naples, despite the bulls and the crusades of Urban VI. At the news of the preparations of that prince, Charles de la Paix puts Queen Jeanne to death (1382). He restricts himself with harassing the Duke of Anjou. The French army is consumed without doing anything. The duke himself dies near Bari, leaving for heir, Louis, his son, aged seven years (1384). The misunderstanding between Urban VI. and Charles de la Paix makes itself known. The Pope, after having been, for some time, retained prisoner at Naples, retires to Nocera, where his nephew holds command. He excommunicates Charles de la Paix, and puts Naples under interdict. The city of Nocera is taken by Charles, and the Pope is besieged in the castle. A body of Germans and Bretons at last delivers him ; he passes into Sicily and thence to Genoa.

During these differences with Charles de la Paix, several cardinals leagued against the pontiff. Six of them were arrested by his orders, tortured and imprisoned. In leaving the castle of Nocera, he drags them in his suite and takes them to Genoa. One of them, by birth an Englishman, is released in that city on the demand of King Richard II. ; the five others are put to death (1386).

Charles de la Paix goes into Hungary, where the grandees assigned him the crown ; he there soon perishes by treason. Margaret, his widow, proclaims her young son Ladislaus, or Lancelot, King of Naples. The house of Anjou supports its rights against him. The young Louis II. receives from Clement VII. the investiture of the kingdom ; his party prevails in Naples. Margaret retires with her children to Gaeta, where she remains several years in great distress. Pope Urban will recognise neither of the competitors. He asserts that the kingdom has returned to him as its feudal lord. From Lucca, where he resided for many months, he advances at the head of an army in order to assert his claims. But his resources are soon exhausted, and he is forced to return to Rome. A crusade is published in that city against Clement VII., whose dominions have increased by the adhesion of Aragon and Navarre ; all Christian Spain holds for him, save Portugal. On the decease of Urban VI., the cardinals of his party elect Boniface IX. (1389-1404). Clement VII. excommunicates the new pope, who returns the compliment. Boniface is eager to recognise, for King of Naples, the young Ladislaus ; a cardinal will crown him at Gaeta. Louis II. of Anjou enters the kingdom with a powerful army, and gains divers advantages ; the struggle continues long between the two parties.

Meanwhile, the duration of the schism begins to weary everyone in Europe. It engendered great licence in all places, extreme corruption among the clerics, and disquieted the faithful as to their lot in future. The authority of the pontiff is at the discretion of the civil power, which does not hesitate to interpose. As early as the year 1387 some princes of Germany had solicited Urban VI. for the reunion of the Church ; he satisfied himself with answering that he was the true pope, a statement which it was not necessary to call in question. In France also means are looked after for putting an end to the troubles. The university, in a letter to the king, proposes three solutions : the union of both popes, a compromise between them, the meeting of a general council. These ways of union are submitted to

Clement VII., who receives the overture very ill. A short time after, he dies of apoplexy (1394).

King Charles VI. directs the cardinals to defer the election, but they pay no attention. On the arrival of the courier, they were in conclave. The king's letter is handed to them. Foreseeing what its object is, they terminate the election before opening it. Their choice falls on Cardinal Peter de Lune, who takes the name of Benedict XIII. (1394-1423). He at once protests his good resolutions for the re-union of the Church. French princes come to recommend to him the way of cession (1395). Benedict, on the contrary, proposes a conference between the two popes and some persons dependent on each. Charles VI. sends deputies into Germany. The university of Paris writes to the surrounding countries. Benedict XIII. deputes ambassadors to Rome; Boniface IX. refuses to receive them, and permitting solely a conference, declines every way of accommodation. An assembly held at Rheims, in presence of the emperor and King Charles VI., proposes to him, by ambassadors, that a new election should take place to decide which of the two shall remain pope. Boniface replies that he is ready to follow this council, provided that his competitor equally lowers himself (1398). To conquer the resistance of Benedict XIII., it is decided in Paris to take from him all authority by refusing obedience. Letters patent are issued. They are addressed to the pontiff of Avignon. The withdrawal of obedience is published in the city, with an injunction to the subjects of the king, both clerics and laics, to retire from the service of the court of Benedict. All the world obeys. The eighteen cardinals of Avignon themselves decline obedience to their pope. He none the less persists in rejecting all renunciation. The Marshal Bouicaut occupies the city. The Pope, abandoned by the cardinals, endures all the winter a siege in his palace. Finally, he is forced to capitulate by a dearth of food (1399). He consents to renounce the pontificate in case of cession, death, or deposition of Boniface. It is agreed that he shall remain free in his palace, but without power to quit it until the union of the Church. A similar

measure would have been necessary on the other side. But dissensions then agitated Germany. Venceslaus, King of Bohemia, had been deposed from the imperial dignity (1400); in his place, Robert of Bavaria was elected. The two parties attempted to manage Boniface IX. He remains three years without deciding between them; it is only at the end of 1403 that he recognises the Duke of Bavaria. At this time Benedict XIII. had been re-established in his rights. After four years of seclusion, that pontiff succeeded in effecting an evasion; he had become reconciled with his cardinals, and the king, Charles VI., had revoked the withdrawal of obedience. In testimony of goodwill, Benedict deputes five ambassadors to Rome (Sept. 1404). Boniface exacts, as a condition of being received, that they should pay him the honours due to the sovereign pontiff. Everything in the interview is limited to an exchange of words more or less bitter. Boniface dies the following month.

In the conclave, the cardinals engage by compromise to procure union, if the elected person is obliged to renounce the pontificate. Innocent VII. (1404-6) in effect convokes all the princes and prelates under his authority in a general council at Rome for the 1st November 1405. But before the time appointed, a rising of the people compels the pontiffs to retire to Viterbo. The two popes write the one against the other. Innocent on the 1st May 1406 removes his council from Rome, which can be no longer general, but solely particular. At Paris the university demands a fresh refusal of obedience against Benedict XIII. who has not fulfilled the conditions on which it had been restored to him. A vote of the parliament forbids exacting the annates and other rights. The demand of the university is sustained by a general assembly of the clergy of France.

On the death of Innocent VII. the cardinals draw up an act by which he of them who shall be named engages to renounce when the antipope renounces or dies, so that a new election may be made by the cardinals of the two parties. Cardinal Angelo Corario is elected. He becomes Gregory XII. (1406-17). He ratifies after his nomination the ac-

he had assented to in the conclave. By letters written to Benedict and the princes, he offers to renounce the pontificate, if his adversary desists from his pretended right. Benedict replies in the same sense. The king of France presses the renunciations, threatening the pontiff of Avignon to give him up in case of refusal. A Bull by Benedict forbids all to withdraw from obedience to him or from that to his successors under pain of excommunication.

Ambassadors from Gregory XII. arrive at Marseilles (April 1407). It is decided that the popes shall yield their authorities at Savonna the 29th September, or at latest the 1st November. Toward the beginning of June Gregory declares that he cannot go into that city by sea for want of a Venetian Galley, (the Genoese had adhered to Benedict XIII.) or by land for want of money, he demands another place of interview. Benedict keeps his promise of repairing to Savonna. Gregory comes to Sienna in September and remains there till the end of the year ; he wishes to make his conditions for yielding the pontificate. Benedict and his cardinals are at Savonna before the 29th September, awaiting the other party. Gregory sets forth in a writing the reasons which prevent him from going thither. Nuncios of his competitor go to press him at Lucca ; he replies publicly that he is ready to yield, if Benedict will do the same. Both seem in agreement to prevent the union.

The king Charles VI. publishes a letter commanding refusal of obedience to both to begin with the following first of May. Benedict excommunicates those who reject the way of conference, approve the way of cession, retire from obedience to him, or refuse him the levies of taxes and the presentation to benefices. His bull is solemnly condemned and torn to pieces in Paris. Michael Boucicaut, Governor of Genoa, receives orders to arrest him. The pontiff seeks refuge in the galleys which he kept fully armed, sails for two months up and down the coast of Genoa, then passes into Catalonia, and throws himself into Perpignan, the frontier of France and Aragon. Gregory XII. having made a new promotion of cardinals, seven of the old ones retire from Lucca to Pisa, whence they send him a notification of appeal

to the general council and the future pope (1408). Gregory writes to all the faithful to complain of the intrigues which trouble the union, and of the calumnies that are spread in respect to it, he asserts that Benedict wished to seize Rome with the aid of Michael Boucicaut.

The cardinals of the two parties, assembled at Livourna, convoke, each in their own district, a general council at Pisa for the 25th March 1409. The two popes deny the cardinals the right of convoking a general council. They both make a new promotion. Gregory appoints a general council at Aquilea to be held on the 26th May 1409. Benedict assembles one at Perpignan the 1st November 1408; in it are found one hundred and twenty prelates of Spain, Provence, Gascony, and Savoy. At the commencement of the year 1409, a diet assembles at Frankfort for the union of the Church. The emperor Robert shows himself there much attached to Gregory XII. The council of Pisa opens at the time fixed. Peter de Lune and Angelo Corario, declaring themselves popes, are cited thither and declared contumacious. It is ordained to pass to another subject. Robert declares by his ambassadors that he holds the assembly for illegitimate. The council maintains its rights and pronounces the forfeiture of the two popes as schismatics, heretical, perjurious, and incorrigible. It decrees that it shall continue to sit until the reform of the church. Peter of Candia is elected pope by the cardinals of the two parties and calls himself Alexander V. (1409-10). He designates eight cardinals to deliberate on the ecclesiastical reform with learned and virtuous men to be chosen by the prelates of each nation. They are enjoined to proceed against the adherents of Peter de Lune and of Angelo Corario. Pope Alexander decrees the assembly of a new general council in April 1412 in a place to be appointed a year in advance. The Council of Pisa is dissolved on the 7th of August 1409. However the general council of Benedict XIII. continued at Perpignan. Opinions varied as to the course to be taken. Some proposed cession, others wished for delay. Most part of the prelates ended by retiring. There does not remain more than eighteen on the 1st February 1409. Benedict is ad-

vised to yield without delay. He sends, toward the end of March, seven legates to Pisa, to sound the dispositions of the council ; but they are retained at Nimes and their dispatches intercepted. Gregory XII. does not show himself better disposed to recognise the authority of the councils of Pisa. He gathered together at Aquilea the 6th June 1409 his general council, which is composed of a small number of prelates. A sentence is pronounced by him there against Peter de Lune and Peter de Candia, whose election he declares null and sacrilegious. Nevertheless he ends by binding himself to lay down the pontificate, when the two others shall renounce their pretended rights. The Venetians having recognised Alexander V., Gregory, fearing to be arrested by them, flees secretly and lands in the Abruzzi, whence he makes his way to Gaeta under the protection of Ladislaus. His authority is sustained only by that prince. Alexander V., with the assistance of Louis II. of Anjou, makes himself master of a part of the Roman states. But his government lacks vigour. Cardinal Baltashazar Cossa exercises the principal authority there. Alexander publishes a bull against King Ladislaus, and continues to give to Venceslaus the title of King of the Romans, by opposition to Robert, who favoured Gregory XII. He dies shortly after. Baltashazar Cossa takes his place under the name of John XXIII. (1410-15). He was an able man in temporal affairs. A Corsaire in his youth, he preserves the taste when on the see of Rome, where he shows himself eager for rapine and ardent in pleasures. He preaches a crusade against Ladislaus, in the hope that Louis II. of Aragon will drive him from the kingdom of Naples. But Ladislaus fortifies himself there day after day, as well as in Romagna and in the other provinces of the church. John then treats with him and receives him as his subject. At this news Gregory XII. flees from Gaeta and seeks a refuge at Rimini, with the three cardinals who remain attached to his fortune.

John XXIII. assembles at Rome, towards the end of 1412, the general council which Alexander V. had decreed. Few persons come to it ; we have of it only a Bull of the 2d February 1314, against the opinions of Wicliff. Misun-

derstanding soon arises between Pope John and King Ladislaus. The prince, at the head of a grand army, takes possession of Rome, and the other cities, as far as the lands of Sienna and Florence. The pontiff, withdrawing within this last city, is reduced to recur to Sigismund, King of Hungary, who, after the decease of Robert of Bavaria, had been elected king of the Romans. Two cardinals go to arrange with him for the convocation of a general council, which seems the sole remedy for the evils of the Church. The Pope desired that it should not be held in a place subject to Sigismund, and it is with pain he learns that the city of Constance, which depends on that prince, has been selected. Nevertheless, after conferring with him, he resolves to convoke there the general council for the 1st November, 1414. His Bull announces the new council as the continuation of that of Rome, which had been prorogued on account of the small number of its members. Ladislaus, who makes preparations for driving the pope from the city of Bologna, falls ill at the head of his army, and dies at Naples (6th August 1414). His sister Jeanne succeeds him.

John XXIII. arrives at Constance, after being assured of the succour of Frederick, Duke of Austria, the need of whom he foresees.

The general council (sixteenth of the Latins) opens on the 5th November, 1414. In the first session, Pope John calls the attention of the Fathers to the heresies of Wiclf, John Huss, and others, as well as to the reformation of the Church. The second session is retarded until the coming of the princes, lords, and prelates. In the interval, the pontiff engages in all sorts of intrigues to frustrate the object of the assembly, which he has more motives than one to fear. After the arrival of Sigismund, there is presented against John XXIII., a memorial which accuses him of a great many crimes. Seized with fear, he is disposed to make a public confession, but the principal people of the council advise him to take the way of resignation. John resolves thereon, and swears he will retire when Peter de Lune and Angelo Corario will do so themselves. Some days after he makes his escape, favoured by a tournament given by the Duke of

Austria, who goes to join him at Schaffhausen, a possession of the duke's. The pope directs his domestics and officers, as well as all the Fathers of Constance, to repair to that city ; seven cardinals and divers members of the Roman court come thither. The council declares that it will not separate before the extirpation of the schism, and the reformation of the church, in faith and morals, in its head and in its members.

John protests before a notary and witnesses that in all the promises which he has made at Constance, he acted only by fear and force, and that he does not consider himself obliged to keep them.

The council decrees (30th March 1415), that, representing the universal church, it holds its power of Jesus Christ, and that every man, even the pope, is bound to obey the general councils in what regards faith, the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the church. It is in consequence decided that the retirement of John XXIII. was illicit, and that if he does not return after having been required, he shall be prosecuted as a promoter of schism and suspected of heresy. Far from having the thought of returning, John had gone further away. From Schaffhausen he had passed successively to Laufenberg, Friburg, Brisach, Neuburg, whence he returned to Friburg. There he is met by the ambassadors of the council. Required by them, he appoints representatives to renounce the pontificate in their name. His representation is judged insufficient by the council. He is cited to appear before the council, under accusation of heresy, schism, simony, bad government, and squandering the goods of the Roman church, scandalous morals, and conduct infamous and incorrigible. If he does not reply to the citation, he is declared contumacious ; he is suspended as a dissipator of the church's property, simoniacal and scandalous. Meanwhile, the emperor Sigismund had made war on the duke of Austria, who finally submits and undertakes to bring the pope before the council. John is conducted to Ratolffcell, in the territory of Constance. He declares that he ratifies the proceedings, and submits to the decisions of the general council. A definitive sentence

deposes him for his crimes. He is placed under the guard of the Emperor and of Louis of Bavaria, palatine of the Rhine, and remains three years under rigorous imprisonment. Gregory XII., unable to withstand the general council, takes the part of making his submission. He begins by authorising the council, to which he afterwards sends a schedule of cession or renunciation. The assembly unites the college of its cardinals to that of John XXIII. Angelo Corario is himself put in the number of the cardinal bishops with the second rank after the pope, and created for his life legate *a latere* in the marches of Ancona, without his being disquieted or examined for his anterior acts. There remained Pierre de Lune (Benedict XIII.). The council nominates, to treat with the king of Aragon and himself, commissioners, to whom is added the emperor Sigismund. Benedict withstands all efforts. The kings of Aragon, Castille, Navarre, the counts of Foix and Armagnac, and other nobles, engage to abandon him if he does not resign within fifteen days. He takes shelter on board the galleys of Collioure, where he is besieged. He then passes to the castle of Paniscola, situated in the domains of the king of Aragon. La Castille, Navarre, and Aragon renounce their allegiance. Their ambassadors, and those of the Count de Foix, are successively admitted into the council of Constance. A formal charge is brought against Peter de Lune. He is declared a perjurer, a promoter of schism, an obstinate and incorrigible heretic, and in all these points unworthy of the papacy, and cut off from the church (26th July, 1417). To prevent schisms in the future, it is decreed that a first general council shall be held five years after the actual assembly, a second seven years later, and thence afterwards every ten years. It is resolved that the pope, whose election was about to be made, should, either with the assembly itself, or with deputies from each nation, reform the Church in its head and in its members, as well as the Court of Rome, before the close of the council, on the articles before presented for reformation by the nations. These articles concerned—the number, the quality, and the nature of the cardinals ; the reserves belonging to the Holy See ; the annates, common,

and petty imposts and the expectatives ; the confirmation of the elections ; the causes which ought to be treated of in the court of Rome ; the appellations ; the offices of the Chancellory, and the penitentiary ; the exemptions and incorporations made during the schism ; the benefices held by laymen ; the fruits of the middle time ; the alienation of the goods of the Roman Church ; the causes for which the pope may be corrected and deposed ; the extirpation of simony ; the dispensations ; the provision for the pope and the cardinals ; the indulgences ; the domains. With the consent of the cardinals, it is determined, for this time only, that six prelates of each nation shall take part with them in the election of the pope. Cardinal Odo Colonna is promoted to the chair of St. Peter, under the title of Martin V. (1417-31). Such are the acts of the Council of Constance for the extinction of schism. Let us now see what measures it took on the two other objects for which it was convened —heresy, and the reformation of the church. The massacres and the devastations of the Albigensian crusades had for long consolidated the Roman superstitions and the sacerdotal despotism. The spirit of reform seemed to slumber for two centuries. Scarcely could you recognise any traces of it in the sect of the Beghards, and in the obstinate resistance of the Franciscans of the observance. The pontiffs have no longer any bounds in their usurpations and their exactions, any restraint in their dissoluteness. But at last a reaction shows itself, and soon goes on increasing day by day. Incriminations and protests rise from all sides. The Western Schism, in placing the papacy in dependence on the secular authority, gave to dissidences the liberty to produce themselves. In the kingdom of England the troubles of the minority of Richard II. favour them still more. Then was it that there appeared in that country Wycliffism, the precursor of the Reformation of the 16th century. John Wycliff, a man of irreproachable morals, doctor and professor of theology in the University of Oxford, then parish priest at Lutterworth in the diocese of Lincoln, begins his great work about the year 1371. He attacks the temporal and spiritual power of the pope, the opulence

of the clergy, the monks endowed or living on alms, as well as different doctrines of the dominant church. His words call forth many echoes among the great as well as in the multitude. Gregory XI. commands that he be punished (1377). But Wicliff is sustained by John, Duke of Lancaster, by Henry Percy, marshal of the kingdom, by the University of Oxford, and by a good part of the clergy; for the time he escapes condemnation. In 1382 the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a council held in London, anathematised ten of the propositions of the Reformer as heretical, and fourteen as erroneous. Notwithstanding this condemnation the parish priest of Lutterworth continues to write, and none the less remains at the head of his parish. Some years later an attack of palsy takes from him his power of speech. He dies in peace in the month of December 1387.

A sect survived him. His adherents, known under the name of Wicliffites or Lollards, cause disorders in England more than once. Their principal defenders are the hatted gentlemen, that is such as never take off their hats, not even in presence of the holy sacrament. In 1395 the Wicliffites put on the walls publicly in London accusations and propositions against the sacrament and the clergy; they are ill disposed specially toward the monks and nuns. The pope requires king Richard to protect the Church. A provincial council in London condemns eighteen articles drawn from Wicliff's *Trialogue* (1396). In a parliament held by Henry IV. it is ordered that the Wicliffites or Lollards be taken before the Bishop of London, and, if they remain obstinate, be given up to the secular arm (1401). A priest is publicly burnt in Smithfield; then is it that in secret the Lollards spread their opinions.

They seem to have carried reform farther than Wicliff himself. According to them the seven sacraments are only dead signs, and signs without value; virginity and celibacy are not approved of God, who has commanded marriage—the conjugal union is formed by the sole will of man and woman, without intervention from the Church;—the sacrament of the altar is a bit of dead bread, it is the tower and

the fortress of Antichrist ; a newly born infant ought not to be baptised in the church ; there is neither day nor festival more sacred than another ; you may labour, eat and drink every day ; there is no purgatory after this life ; the sole penitence for sin is to give it up, and to repent with faith. The Wiccliffites or Lollards carry on their agitation in London after the death of Henry IV. (1413). They have for their head a gentleman called John Oldcastle. The Archbishop of Canterbury arrests him. He is declared a heretic, and delivered to the secular arm. But he escapes and collects his party, which puts itself in open rebellion (1414). The king levies his troops and disperses them. Several are hanged and burnt. An edict declares the Lollards and Wiccliffites traitors to God and to the king, and orders that they be hanged as rebels and burnt as heretics, with confiscation of their goods. Oldcastle and others are executed ; a certain number quit England.

This affair is brought before the council of Constance. It anathematises first forty-five articles of the doctrine of Wiccliff, already condemned by the council of Rome and by the universities of different countries, then two hundred and sixty other articles gathered from his works, as well as all his books in general and in particular. The sentence, moreover, branded the name of Wiccliff, ordered his bones to be disinterred, if they can be distinguished from those of the faithful, and to be thrown into the common sewer (May 1415). Thirteen years later the bones of Wiccliff are in effect disinterred and publicly burnt.

The doctrines of this Reformer had penetrated into Bohemia in the first years of the 15th century. John Huss was then one of the principal members of the University of Prague, a man of elevated intelligence, of remarkable eloquence, well versed in philosophy, and renowned for the purity of his life. Ordained priest in 1400 he becomes a preacher in the Church of Bethlehem, and confessor of the Queen. In 1401 he is dean of the faculty of philosophy in the University of Prague, in 1409 rector of the Academy, in which he enjoys great authority. He takes in the university an active part in the expulsion of the Germans, which makes him many enemies among them.

The ideas of Wicliff beginning to be popular, John Huss speaks of him as a holy man, and supports several of his propositions. In 1408 the University of Prague condemns forty-five articles of the priest of Lutterworth, with prohibition to all its members to support or teach them, whether in public or in private, under pain of exclusion. John Huss continues none the less to spread them secretly. Under orders from Alexander V. the archbishop of Prague burns Wicliff's books to the number of two hundred, and forbids preaching in other places than the churches or the cemeteries. John Huss appeals to Pope John XXIII. in the name of the university. Cited to appear in the court of Rome, he makes himself represented by proxy ; he is excommunicated and appeals to the approaching council. Retiring into his native country, under the protection of the lord of the place, he composes divers treatises in support of his doctrines, among others his *Treatise on the Church*, and that *On the Six Errors*. In the last work he teaches that the priests do not in the mass make the body of Jesus Christ ; that men ought not to believe in the pope, the saints, the virgin ; that priests have not the power to remit sin and its punishment to whom they please ; that we are not held to obey our superiors except when they command reasonable things ; that excommunication has no value except so far as the cause is just ; that most of the clergy are guilty of simony. These doctrines are well received in Bohemia, where the Latin clergy is generally detested. Other preachers unite with John Huss, and among them Jerome of Prague and Jacobel de Misnie. The clergy on their part do not remain inactive. They rise with force against the innovators, and do their best to parry their blows. John Huss being cited to the Council of Constance, the Archbishop of Prague and the Bishop of Nazareth give them attestations of orthodoxy (Aug. 1414). At the doors of all the churches and of all the palaces he affixes placards announcing that he goes to Constance of his own will, to demonstrate his innocence in the future council. Similar placards appear all along his route. He enters Constance escorted by several lords, and furnished with a safe-conduct

from the Emperor Sigismund to go and to return. Some days after two of his enemies of Prague denounce him to the council. At their instigation the pope and the cardinals arrest him, notwithstanding his imperial guarantee of safety. He is first imprisoned in the monastery of the Franciscans, under the guard of the pope's servants. After the flight of John XXIII. he is handed over to the Bishop of Constance, and put into a fortress. His antagonists accuse him of maintaining that the people ought to communicate in the two species, and that the bread of the eucharist remains bread after the consecration ; that a minister under mortal sin cannot administer the sacraments, and that, on the contrary, any other person in a state of grace can do so ; that all priests are equal in dignity, and that ambition alone has led the pope and the bishops to reserve to themselves the ordinations and divers other dignities ; that the Church ought not to possess temporal property, and that it may be taken from the ecclesiastics. Commissioners draw up the process, but John Huss is refused defenders ; and as it is a question of heresy all sorts of testimonies are admitted. The nobles of Bohemia, indignant at the violation of the safe-conduct, wrote several times to Sigismund to request that the captive might be set at liberty, but they failed utterly ; the trial follows its course. John Huss interrogated, declares himself ready to receive all the light that they will give him, but he refuses to abjure the articles that they charge him with, and which he has not taught. In regard to the articles extracted from his books, if one of them contains a falsity he detests it ; but he will not abjure any of them in the fear of offending God and speaking contrary to the sentiment of the saints. All the means employed to make him retract remain ineffectual. At last the council declares heretical the articles extracted from his books, among others, his *Treatise on the Church*, and orders that all his books be carefully scrutinised and publicly burnt. He himself is declared convicted of error and heresy, of contempt of the ecclesiastical judges, and of the censures and keys of the Church, and condemned to be degraded from the priesthood and the other orders, and

finally to be handed over to the secular power (6th July 1415). After the ceremony of degradation, they put on his head, according to the custom of the inquisitors, a paper mitre, on which are painted three devils, with this inscription, *Heresiarch*; then he is abandoned to the secular arm. The magistrates of Constance condemn him to be burnt alive. He is carried past the place where his books are burning in the fire; he smiles and cries to the people that he is condemned, not for his errors, but by the injustice of his enemies. Arrived at the place of punishment, he offers several prayers on his knees. The executioner strips him to his shirt, and fastens him to the post, his hands being tied behind his back, and two chains round, one his neck, the other his body. In this state he is again urged to make a retraction; he persists in his refusal. The fire is kindled, and the patient is soon stifled by blasts of smoke thrown into his face by the wind. His clothes and personal property are burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Rhine lest they should become relics. His disciples take of the soil from the spot where he was burned, and carry it into their own countries. The condemnation of John Huss, in spite of the safe-conduct of the emperor, calls forth murmurs against that prince and against the council. To impose silence on these complaints, it is declared by a synodal decree that the safe-conducts given to heretics or persons suspected of heresy are not an obstacle to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that he from whom they emanate, is obliged to nothing. Another decree forbids, under pain of being punished as promoters of heresy and criminal of treason, all and every who blame the emperor or the council on account of the safe-conduct, considering, it is said, that according to natural right, human and divine, no promise is to be kept to the prejudice of the Catholic faith. These decrees, of no avail to silence the general outcry, serve only to throw into relief the animosity of the council and the infamy of Sigismund.

Jerome of Prague, who had not been cited to the council, was not an ecclesiastic, but solely a bachelor and master in theology. He had studied in most of

the colleges of Europe, and on his return into Bohemia, he attached himself to the doctrines of John Huss, whom he is said to have surpassed in knowledge and in subtlety of disputation. He had promised to rejoin him at Constance, and in effect, he was there on the 24th April 1415. But on learning that some plot was forming against him, he leaves almost immediately, and retires to Überlingen, whence he writes to the emperor and to the nobles of Bohemia to ask for a safe-conduct. Sigismund refuses it. Jerome placards all the churches and other places of Constance that he is ready to reply before the full council to the calumnies spread to his disadvantage, if he is supplied with a safe-conduct. The council offers him one *considering that he is in its power, and that the Catholic faith requires it.* Jerome then takes the part of returning into Bohemia. He is apprehended on the road and taken back to Constance. At the first moment, he retracts in presence of the council; but afterwards he disavows that act of weakness, and declares that he adheres to the doctrine of Wicliff and John Huss. The assembly pronounces him a heretic, relapsed, excommunicated, and gives him up to the secular magistrates (30th May 1416). Jerome walks to his punishment with the same constancy as John Huss, reciting prayers with a loud voice. Arrived at the place of execution, he lays aside his clothes, and kisses the fatal post. When he is bound to it quite naked, and the fire rises around him, he sings a hymn, which he continues despite the flames and the smoke.

In the midst of the persecution of John Huss and Jerome, of Prague, the council judges it opportune to define the official doctrine of the eucharist. Christ instituted the supper under two species. In the primitive church, the disciples communicated fasting or not, but always with bread and wine. The Greek Catholics have never ceased to communicate with both species. Novel usages began to prevail among the Latins with the dogma of the real presence. Did it seem irreverent to swallow the divine body and blood in a stomach already loaded with aliments? Is it by imitation of Manicheism that the people communicated in only the

species of wine ? Did they wish to exalt the clergy by reserving to it the prerogative of the cup ? Preference, however, was given to communing while fasting, and in many churches the people were presented only with the bread. But this custom was not established without contradiction. The recalcitrants affirmed that according to the gospel it was necessary to salvation to eat the body and drink the blood, which did not take place if the communion was in only one species. The council determining these points decides, 1<sup>st</sup>, that the eucharist ought not to be consecrated after a meal, nor received by the disciples unless they were fasting, except in the case of sickness or other necessity ; 2<sup>d</sup>, that the custom wisely introduced be held for a law, according to which the consecrating priests communicate under the two species, and the laity only under the species of bread. It determines in consequence to prosecute as heretics, and to suppress, whether by the censures of the Church or by the secular arm, those who shall administer to the people the communion under the two species. It finally declares it matter of faith that the body and the blood of Jesus Christ are contained under each of the two species (13th June 1415).

The fathers of Constance are then called on to give a decision on the dispute which troubles the order of the Franciscans. One of the brothers of the narrow observance having obtained a tower from the Prince of Foligni, his relative, had gathered together there several of his order, with whom he freely followed the rigorous practices of the rule. On the model of this new monastery several others had established themselves in the provinces of Rome and Tuscany, with permission from the general of the order. No one in Italy opposes this reform, which makes rapid progress. But it is not the same beyond the Alps. There the conventionals oppose it in all manner of ways. The observantins of several convents of the three provinces of France, Burgundy, and Touraine take occasion to present a request to the Council of Constance. With the consent of the parties, the assembly addresses to the general and the other superiors of the order, a constitution which establishes for the observantins special superiors, who, nevertheless,

shall be subject to the general and the superiors of the entire order, and concedes to all the convents of the three provinces, the liberty to reduce themselves to the narrow observance, if it pleases the majority and the wiser part of the brothers.

In regard to the third principal object of the convocation of the Council of Constance, the reformation of the Church in its head and in its members, it had been decided, before the election of Martin V., that the new pope and the assembly should proceed thereto in common accord. But as this reformation was to assail principally the Court of Rome, Martin took care not to occupy himself with it in a very serious way. Some months after his election, he designates Pavia for the meeting of the next general council, which was to take place five years later. The close of the Council of Constance is pronounced the 22d April 1418. Returning into Italy, Martin V. sojourns two years at Florence. Baltazar Cossa, restored to liberty, throws himself at his feet, acknowledging him for the true and only pope. Martin received him with honour, and declared him cardinal bishop of Tusculum. The ex-John XXIII. dies, at the end of six months, in Florence.

Angelo Corario (Gregory XII.) had been dead two years (Oct. 1417). But Peter de Lune (Benedict XIII.) still kept in his castle of Paniscola, despite the abandonment of some of his cardinals and the anathemas of Martin V. His authority was observed in France by the Count of Armagnac, and in Spain by the King of Aragon, who wished to oblige Pope Martin to give him investiture of the kingdom of Naples, in preference to Louis III. of Anjou. By the favour of these divisions, Peter de Lune continues the part of pope until his death (23 May 1423). The King of Aragon gives him a successor in the person of Giles Munos, canon of Barcelona, who is called Clement VIII. (1424). Martin V. cites the King of Aragon and the Court of Armagnac to appear at Rome in the consistory, as protectors of the Antipope. The king then undertakes by treaty to bring back to obedience Giles Munos and his adherents, if not, to put them into the power of the pope. Munos abdicates

the papacy by a Bull published at Paniscola (1429), and for the price of his submission, he receives the bishopric of Majorca.

In conformity with the decision taken at Constance, a new council assembles at Pavia in the year 1423 ; but the plague compels its removal to Sienna, where it opens on the 22d August. The condemnation of the heresies of Wicliff and John Huss is there confirmed, as well as that of Peter de Lune and his adherents ; the pope then dissolves the assembly (24 Feb. 1424), after indicating the city of Bâle for the celebration of the council which is to be held seven years from then.

Martin V. frustrated the reformation in the councils of Constance and Sienna. It was reserved for Eugenius IV. (1431-47) to obtain the same result in that of Bâle. This general council (the seventeenth of the Latins) commences the 23d of July 1431. The fathers of Bâle address to the Bohemians an invitation to take part in the proceedings. Pope Eugenius arguing that this would be to revive the errors condemned at Constance, prepares to dissolve the assembly, or to transfer it to Bologne. He moreover alleges the necessity of holding a council in Italy for the union of the two churches of the East and the West, demanded by the emperor John Paleologus. But Sigismund who reckons on the council of Bâle for the pacification of his kingdom of Bohemia makes the pontiff renounce the design of dissolving it. The assembly confirms the decrees of that of Constance, touching the supremacy of general councils ; it declares that general councils receive immediately from Jesus Christ a power which every man is required to obey, the pope included, in what regards the extinction of schism and the reformation of the Church, and that they cannot be dissolved, or transferred, or prorogued without their own consent.

Eugenius IV. is required to attend the council. A proceeding is undertaken against him ; he is declared contumacious. Then he seems to wish to come to a reconciliation, at the solicitation of the emperor, and appoints four cardinals to preside over the council in his name, with power to regulate in it what concerns the extirpation of

schisms and heresies, peace among princes, and the reform of the life and manners of the clergy, but to the exclusion of all other affairs. The Fathers require an adherence pure and simple. After some tergiversation, the pope, who has not been able to gain Sigismund at the time of his coronation in Rome (31st May 1433), finally decides to do what is demanded ; his legates are incorporated in the council (April 1434). During these discussions, the Council of Bâle had not omitted to occupy itself with the affair of the Bohemians, which we must take up at an earlier point. At the news of the punishment of John Huss and Jerome de Prague, indignation is at its height in Bohemia and Moravia ; it is decided to celebrate every year the memory of the two martyrs. In many places the monks and the monasteries are roughly handled. Thirty thousand men, assembled near the Castle of Bochingen, communicate in the two species on three hundred tables drawn up in the open country. The university of Prague pronounces in favour of the communion of the cup, in recognising, nevertheless, that Jesus Christ is entire under one and the other species (March 1417). John Ziska or Borgne, whom the Hussites have put at their head, builds the town of Thabor to serve them as a place of security. The rising becomes general on the death of king Wenceslaus (Aug. 1419). The crown belonged to the emperor Sigismund, then occupied in making war on the Turks. The Hussites of Prague fall on the churches and the monasteries, break the images, drive away the monks as useless. Ziska assembles more than forty thousand men in the vicinity of Prague, and prepares to resist Sigismund. It is imputed to that prince not only his failing to maintain the safe conduct, but also his having himself ordered the punishment of John Huss.

Martin V. publishes a bull for a crusade against the Hussites (March 1420). It is published in Germany by the act of Sigismund, who soon sees himself at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men. He summons to Brünn all the orders of the kingdom. The Bohemians repair thither and make great complaints to him on the death of John Huss. The emperor besieges Prague, but without

much success. Despairing of success he satisfies himself with being crowned in a small quarter of the city that he has captured ; then he raises the siege, carrying away with him the plate and the jewels of the churches to pay his troops. Ziska, who commands although he has become blind, follows the imperial troops in their retreat and beats them in several battles. After the expulsion of the emperor discord arises among the Bohemians ; they divide into two principal parties, the Calixtins and the Thaborites. The first, much the more numerous, have on their side the university of Prague and most of the other cities ; to say the truth, they differ from the papal church only in being determined not to renounce the communion of the cup. The Thaborites commanded by Ziska, have more ardour, and carry their religious dissent farther. The Calixtins propose to replace Sigismund by another prince ; they enter on a conference with the King of Poland. The Thaborites incline to do without a monarch. A diet assembles at Czaslaw ; the two parties come to an agreement on the four following points ; 1, the priests shall have in Bohemia and Moravia the liberty of announcing the word of God in all places,—2, the eucharist shall be administered under the two species, according to the institution of Jesus Christ,—3, temporal goods shall be taken from the priests and the monks to be restored to the laics ; 4, mortal sins, which are publicly committed, and other departures from God's law, shall be suppressed in all persons by those who have the right to do so. The Thaborites hold to all the articles of this compromise ; most of them go even much beyond. The Calixtins attach themselves principally to the communion in the two species ; on all the rest they are disposed to agree with the Church of Rome. Sigismund re-enters Bohemia the following year. Most of the grandees are for him ; Prague and the other cities acknowledge for King, Coribut, brother of the Grand Duke of Lithuania ; Ziska will have no king. The troops of Sigismund are beaten at Zatec (1422). The Thaborites then drive Coribut away, and rule in Bohemia and Moravia, whence they make incursions into Austria. The emperor then resolves to treat with Ziska ; he offers him

the government of Bohemia on the most advantageous conditions. But that chief is about this time carried off by the plague which rages in his army. His troops divide themselves into three principal bodies ; the Thaborites led by Procopius the Great ; the Orphans, so named since the death of Ziska whom they called their father and of whom Procopius the great becomes the captain ; the Orebites, who give themselves successively several chiefs. For all these sectaries Bohemia is the land of promise ; the German people of their neighbourhood are Idumaeans, Moabites, Amalekites, or Philistines. Martin V. orders a new crusade (1427). Three armies are raised, which penetrate into Bohemia by three different sides. But at the approach of the Hussites the crusaders take to flight without having seen them, abandoning their artillery and their baggage. Despite their intestine divisions the Bohemians make excursions on the circumjacent countries, in Austria, Silesia, Lusatia, Saxony, Brandenburg.

A diet assembles at Nuremberg to advise as to measures of resistance (1431). A third crusade is organised. All the parts of Bohemia unite for common defence. The imperials are again completely routed. Germany loses courage. Sigismund acknowledges that the Bohemians cannot be vanquished except by themselves. There is no other reliance but the council of Bâle to bring them back or to divide them. At this moment the assembly sends them an invitation with safe conducts.

Bâle sees their ambassadors arrive, and among them Procopius the Great, renowned for many victories (1433). They propose to the council their four articles, on which they discuss without being able to come to an understanding. At the end of three months, the Bohemians return home. The council causes them to be followed by a new embassy. New conferences take place in Bohemia ; after various going and coming between Bâle and Prague a treaty is finally concluded which grants to the Hussites the communion under the two species, on condition of confessing that Christ is wholly in each of them. This convention is accepted in an assembly of the States of Bohemia by the

Calixtins and the Catholics: but the Thaborites, the Orphelins, and the Orebites reject it. The two parties fall on each other even in Prague itself; the Thaborites and the Orphans are driven from the city after suffering great losses. All forces are gathered on both sides. The two armies encounter each other some miles from Prague. Victory declares for the Calixtins; the two Procopii perish in the fight (1434). The Thaborites are henceforth unable to hold a position. They then reform and no longer oppose to the persecution anything but charity and patience. Toward the end of the fifteenth century they compose about two hundred united churches, the members of which call themselves *Brothers of the Unity* or Bohemian Brothers.

However an embassy of the Calixtins goes to propose conditions to the emperor, by whom they are accepted. He swears to keep this compact, and is received into Prague with great acclamations (1436). The Roman worship is re-established in Bohemia; the priests and the monks are recalled from exile. After the death of Sigismund the crown passes to his son-in-law Albert, in spite of the opposition of the Calixtins (1437). This prince dies shortly after, leaving his widow with child. The son of whom she becomes mother, the little Ladislaus, is in time recognised king of Bohemia; but the power remains in the hands of the parties. The chief of the Calixtins, George Podiebrad, takes possession of the government in the year 1448, and is elected king at the death of the young Ladislaus (1457). After him the crown is devolved on Ladislaus, son of the King of Poland (1471), who, some years later, succeeds in bringing back the greater part of the Hussites to the communion and the usages of the Church of Rome. Let us return to the Council of Bâle. Strong in the submission of pope Eugenius, the assembly publishes, in confirming them, the two decrees of Constance touching the authority of general councils (June 1434). It then sets itself to work for the reformation of the Church.

A decree is passed against clerics who keep concubines. Since the interdiction of marriage to ecclesiastics, a good number of them lived openly in a state of concubinage;

sometimes even they obtained, at a money price, permission from their superiors. As a remedy, the decree of the council pronounces against the concubinaries the loss of all their offices and benefices, with injunctions to the prelates to expel from their lands the concubines or suspected women.

The abuses of excommunication and other censures are suppressed by a decree to the effect that no one shall be bound to abstain from the communion of another, unless the censure has been published by a judge, or denounced a person, a community, a church, or particular place, or that is of incontestable notoriety. At the same time, it is forbidden to lay under interdict cities, castles or other places, if it is not for the faults of the community, the lord or officers. By another decision, which more directly attacks the Papacy, the council forbids anything to be exacted, in the Court of Rome as well as otherwheres, for the confirmation of elections, the dismissal of postulations, the collation or provision of the churches, monasteries, or any benefice whatever, as also sacred orders, by reason of Bulls, or Seals, under the name of Annates, first-fruits, in parts or otherwise, on pain of simony and privation of benefice ; and, if it is the pope, reference of the matter to the general council.

On the communication of this decree Eugenius IV. replies that he considers himself offended, him and all his court, that an affair of such importance has been treated and decided without having consulted him. Before abolishing the Annates, adds he, it was necessary to provide means for meeting the charges of the Court of Rome. A new and irremediable division results between the pope and the council. Other decrees of the council of Bâle regulate the enjoyment of benefices, and reform abuses introduced into the celebration of the divine service, such as the representations made in the sacred edifices at the time of certain festivals, or the festivities, fairs, and markets which took place in the churches and even in the cemeteries.

The quarrel with the pope growing more bitter, it was decided, that if the Holy See became vacant during the sitting of the council, the election should take place in its bosom ; the conditions of that election are determined, the

oath to be taken by the elected person, his profession of faith, and his principal duties (1436).

Another decree fixes the number and the quality of the cardinals ; their number is not to pass twenty-four, of whom one third at most are to be of the same nation ; they are not to be nephews either of the pope or of any living cardinal ; the choice shall be made with the consent of the sacred college. They abolish the easily abused right which the popes had reserved to themselves, of disposing of vacant churches ; and it is determined that the election of the bishop shall be made by the chapter, and confirmed or cancelled by the Metropolitan. These regulations irritate Pope Eugenius more and more. He sends ambassadors to the princes that are the most favourable to the council, with an instruction in which all the enterprises against his authority are enumerated ; he asks of these princes to disapprove of the excesses of an assembly which has prolonged itself for six years without producing any fruit. The council in reply accuse Eugenius of violating the canons, of disturbing the election of bishops, of transferring them corruptly, of introducing schisms, of exacting large sums of money for the conferring of dignities and benefices, or for the despatch of letters, of not consulting the cardinals, and of badly administering the domain of the Church. It declares that if, within two months, the pope or some one on his part, does not present himself at Bâle to plead his defence or excuses, his judgment shall take place (July 1437). The pontiff then declares that *with his full power and apostolic authority* he transfers the council from Bâle to Ferrara.

A council opens, in effect, in this last city, composed at first of a small number of bishops (8th Jan. 1438). Nullity is pronounced on whatever the assembly of Bâle has done since its dissolution declared by the pope, and all that it may do in the future.

None the less do the fathers of Bâle continue their sessions ; they suspend Eugenius from all administration of the papacy, in regard both to the spiritual and the temporal. The pope, in his turn, excommunicates, in his council of Ferrara, all those who meet at Bâle, deprives them of their dignities and

benefices, requires them to retire within a month, and orders the officers of the city to drive them away. At the same time, Eugenius IV. prepares a council for the reunion of the two churches, Greek and Latin. Before adverting to that assembly, it is necessary to call to mind what were the anterior relations of those churches and the situation of the oriental countries. As a sequel of the invasion of the Mongols, another horde of Turks, come from the borders of the Oxus, had advanced into Asia Minor. One of its chiefs, Othman or Ottoman, gives himself the title of Sultan the year 1299, and succeeds in subjecting to his power all the horde as well as the remains of Seldjukides ; his subjects take from him the name of Ottoman. Orkan, his successor (1325), seizes Prussia, Nicomedia, Nice in Asia, Gallipoli in Europe, and several other cities. Incapable of resisting, the emperors of Constantinople implore the succour of the West. But Rome exacts, before all things, a renunciation of the schism. Now, had the Greek princes wished it, it was not in their power to lead the populations thereto. Divers projects of union put forward by them from 1326 to 1357 always break down on that rock. The emperor, John Paleologus, having come himself to Rome, is admitted to kiss the feet of the pope Urban I. without obtaining any effective assistance (1369). In the midst of the accumulating dangers the Greeks pass their time in puerile discussions. Monks of Mount Athos pretend to push prayer to such a point of perfection that they see with their eyes a light which is God himself, and go forward to a state of supreme quietude. The chief of these quietists, Gregory Palamas, maintains that the same light appeared to several saints and martyrs, and that it is this which was seen by the apostles on Mount Thabor, at the moment of the transfiguration ; he adds that this light of Thabor is divine and uncreate. The question is debated at Constantinople in a council presided over by the emperor Andronicus Paleologus, and by the patriarch John of Apri (1341). The doctrine of the quietists is condemned there. After the death of Andronicus, the empress Anne shuts up Palamas in a prison of her palace. But afterwards she changes her mind in regard to him, from

hatred of the patriarch ; the new doctrine is revived and propagated to Constantinople ; the clergy combats it ; all the city is in movement. The empress assembles in the palace the bishops and the Palamites ; John of Apri is deposed ; a Palamite patriarch is put in his place by whom most of the bishops are anathematised. Another Palamite succeeds him (1349). The emperor succeeds in reconciling him with the bishops in 1351. The emperors John Cantacuzene and John Paleologus assemble, at Constantinople, a council of the bishops of Thrace, the only province which remains to the empire ; there the opinion of Palamas is considered ; and the council, in which the Palamites are in force, decides that the light of Thabor was divine and uncreate. Meanwhile the Turks pursue their success, under the reign of Amurat I. (1359-1368) ; they seize Andrianople and extend into Macedonia, Albania, and Servia. His successor, Bajazet, ruins all the places around Constantinople, transfers the inhabitants, and takes possession of Thessalonica (1391), he then besieges the capital (1391). The emperor Manuel Paleologus is compelled to pay tribute, to give the Turks a quarter and a mosque in the city, and to settle there a Kadi to administer justice to the Ottomans. These people threaten Hungary itself ; a great reinforcement of nobility sets out from France to succour it. The Christians are defeated at Nicopolis and all the French taken or slain (1396). An invasion of the Tartars recalls Bajazet into Asia. Conquered at the battle of Ancyra, he dies shortly after, a prisoner to Tamerlane (1400) ; but the power of the Turks rises under his sons ; Constantinople is again threatened. In this extremity the Greeks again speak of reunion. John Paleologus II., successor of Manuel, sends ambassadors to the pope and to the council of Bâle. It is agreed to assemble a council, composed of bishops of the two churches. The Greeks, agreeing with the pope, ask that it should be held in a city of Italy ; at Bâle there is a division on the point ; some are for Florence or some other city of Italy ; others, in greater number, prefer Avignon or a city of Savoy (May 1437). The pope confirms the choice of the first. This internal division much diminishes the

authority of the council of Bâle. Jean Paleologus and the Greeks arrive at Ferrara (March 1438). A general council of the two churches opens there on the 9th April; it is the seventeenth of the Latins, known under the name of Florence, where it was continued; nearly two hundred bishops sit by the side of the pope. Among the Greeks the Emperor John Paleologus II. is distinguished, also the despot Demetrius, the patriarch of Constantinople, the deputies of the patriarchs of the East, the patriarch of Russia in person (Isidore), then the metropolitans. An adjournment of four months is declared in order to give to all time to arrive. The operations of the assembly are resumed the 18th October. The question of *Filioque* is agitated for a long time. The Latins maintain that it is not an addition, but a not forbidden explanation. The council is removed to Florence, on account of the plague (Jan. 1439): there the discussions are continued on the same subject during several sessions, without any agreement being come to. But in the necessity to which the Greeks are reduced, the promise of assistance from the Latins determines them to accept the union, the only one that refused was Mark of Ephesus. A bull is published by the pope, subscribed by a great number of prelates, Greek and Latin (4th July 1439), in which it is decided first, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, as from a single principle, and by a sole inspiration, and that it is in this sense that the fathers have said that it proceeds from the Father by the Son; second, that each church may, according to its custom, make use in the Eucharist, of wheaten bread, whether leavened or not leavened; third, that there are three places or three different states after death: heaven for the just, who are immediately received there, and see God more or less perfectly, according to their merits; hell for those who die in a state of mortal sin; purgatory for those who die in the love of God, but without having done complete penance for their sins, in which place they are relieved by the prayers and the other good works of living disciples; four, that the see of Rome has the primacy over all the world, and that the pope, successor of Saint Peter, and chief of the universal church, has received of Jesus

Christ full power to instruct and govern ; that the other patriarchs shall stand in the following order : Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The example of the Greeks draws the Armenians, the Jacobites of Egypt, and the Ethiopians to adhere also in the council of Florence, to the profession of faith of the Roman Church (1440-41) ; but all these adhesions have only an ephemeral duration. John Paleologus, not obtaining the aid which he had hoped for from the Emperor of Germany and the pope, feebly supported the union against Mark of Ephesus and the other opponents. The agreement incurs universal reprobation ; the Greeks say that they should prefer seeing at Constantinople a turban rather than a cardinal's hat. While pope Eugenius discusses with the Orientals, the council of Bâle pursues the course of its sessions, without attending to what passes at Ferrara and Florence. He affirms afresh by decreeing that he holds his power from Jesus Christ, that every man, even the pope himself, owes him obedience in what concerns the faith and the reformation of the church, and that it cannot be dissolved or transferred without his own consent (16th May 1439).

About the same time the council is occupied with the immaculate conception of the Virgin. In the first years of the twelfth century the opinion prevailed that Mary had been conceived pure of all sin, like Jesus Christ himself. The festival is celebrated in England under the exhortations of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury ; thence it passes into France, and is adopted by the church of Lyons. But Bernard of Clairvaux strongly censures the Canons of that city for having introduced this novelty, by which is attributed to the Virgin an honour which belongs only to her son. Opinions divide ; these take part with Bernard, those with the Canons of Lyons. The controversy, nevertheless, is then pretty moderate ; it becomes much more lively when the begging orders take part in it—the Dominicans against the immaculate conception, the Franciscans for it. One of the most illustrious of the latter, John Duns Scot, maintains the new dogma with distinction. The university of Paris adheres to it in honour to the Virgin and to Jesus Christ. The Dominicans only

carry on the combat with more ardour ; the university condemns them (1387). They refuse to submit, and are expelled from the schools down to the year 1404. The question being presented to the council of Bâle, that assembly decides that "the opinion which teaches that the holy Virgin, in virtue of a singular grace, was never subject to sin, even original, ought to be approved and embraced, and that it shall not henceforth be permitted to any one to teach the contrary" (Oct. 1439). The Dominicans reject the decree as proceeding from an illegitimate council. Sixtus IV., an ex-Franciscan, confirms the festival of the immaculate conception, but without defining that point of doctrine on which he interdicts all dispute (1483). The controversy will not the less continue until the council of Trent and afterwards ; it is for the nineteenth century, and for Pope Pius IX. that it is reserved to solemnly consecrate this spotless conception, which the pontifical church regards as a super-human prerogative. The fathers of Bâle, carrying things to an extremity, at last resolved to pass a sentence of deposition against Pope Eugenius (26th May 1439). But he ceases not to be acknowledged in most of the countries of Europe, and specially in Italy. The council none the less elects another pontiff in the person of Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who takes the name of Felix V. (Dec. 1439). His authority is restricted to Savoy, Switzerland, Bavaria, Saxony, and Burgundy ; that of Eugenius comprises Italy, France, Spain, England, Hungary ; the dissidents rule in Bohemia and in a part of Germany. The diet which met at Frankfort to give a successor to the emperor Albert II. declares itself neutral between Eugenius IV. and the council of Bâle (March 1440). The king of France, Charles VII., had promulgated, in an assembly held at Bourges, an order known under the title of the Pragmatic Sanction (7th July 1438). He there gives the force of law for his kingdom to the majority of the decrees of the council of Bâle, and principally to the following : the superiority of a general council over the pope ; the observance of canonical elections ; the abolition of the reserves of the bishoprics

and other ecclesiastical benefices ; the abolition of expectative graces ; collation of benefices to graduates, in preference to others ; dispensation to answer to citations beyond four days ; punishment of frivolous appellations ; rules for the regulation of divine service ; interdiction of public shows in the churches ; prohibition of concubinage—for clerics principally ; repression of the abuses of ecclesiastical censures ; restriction of the obligation to flee from the excommunicated, to the case in which they have been denounced by name.

After the conclusion of the affair of the Greeks, the council of Florence is transferred to Rome by the pope (September 1440). Eugenius there publishes a Bull, in which, exalting the effected union, he exhorts the faithful to arm against the Turks, and orders for that war the levy of a tenth on the ecclesiastical revenues.

Jeanne II., Queen of Naples, having no children, had adopted, in the first place, Alphonso V., king of Aragon, a step which certain dissatisfied persons causes her to revoke. She then chooses for her adopted son Louis III. of Anjou, and, after the decease of that prince, René, his brother. On the death of the Queen (1435), Alphonso of Aragon, pretending a right to the crown, makes himself master of Capua and besieges Gaeta. At first the court of Rome abstains from taking part for either of the competitors, or, to speak more correctly, it wishes to substitute itself for both, arguing that the posterity of Charles d'Anjou, brother of Louis IX., became extinct in the person of Jeanne II., and that thus the kingdom returned under the disposal of the Holy See. But Alphonso having taken possession of Naples, whence René d'Anjou had fled by sea, the pope Eugenius decides to treat with the Conqueror. Alphonso undertakes to restore to him several places, and to drive away Francis Sforzia from the Marches of Ancona ; on this condition the investiture of the kingdom of Naples is accorded to him (December 1443). Eugenius IV. negotiates equally with the diet of Frankfort. It recognises him for pope, with the duty of maintaining the decrees of the council of Bâle, and of ratifying all that had been done in Ger-

many during the neutrality (Feb. 1447). The pontiff dies a few days afterwards.

Nicholas V. (1447-55) is disposed to fulminate against the anti-pope Felix. But mediators interpose. Amadeus makes his submission, and preserves the dignity of cardinal, with the legation in Savoy.

The council of Bâle, which had transferred itself to Lausanne, approves the resignation of Felix, and issues a decree of adhesion to pope Nicholas, after having taken care to elect him afresh (April 1447). Nicholas V. ratifies the decrees of Felix, and confirms the Acts of the council of Bâle, which ceases to exist. Notwithstanding this confirmation, Nicholas and his successors none the less regard as not having taken place the reforms of the council of Bâle; and the pontifical extortions will continue there when the civil power interposes no obstacle. The Turks were still advancing into Europe. They penetrate into the Hungarian provinces under the conduct of Amurat II. Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Poland, marches out to meet them, and perishes in the battle of Varna (1444). The crown of Hungary passes to the little Ladislaus, aged five years, a foster child of the Emperor Frederic III. Pope Nicholas makes vain efforts to arm the Christian princes against the Ottoman power (1451). Mohamed II. makes himself master of Constantinople, of which the last emperor, Constantin Dragoces, perishes arms in hand (29th May 1453). The Sultan leaves the Christians the free exercise of their religion. He confirms, as did the Greek emperors, the new patriarch whom they elect, and treats him with honour. From this time the Greeks, having nothing more to expect or to fear from the Latins, abstain from all communication with them. Their doctrine remains that of the imperial Church in the days of Photius.

From the council of Florence and the capture of Constantinople, dates the revival of letters, arts, and sciences in the regions of the West, whither many learned Greeks repair, to seek an exile. A new horizon opens for philosophy. Aristotle reigned without rival in the middle ages; the Greek refugees attempt to substitute the wisdom of the

divine Plato for the subtleties of peripateticism. A Platonic school is established at Florence, under the protection of the Medici. Two sects of philosophers agitate in Italy the question of the pre-eminence of Aristotle or Plato, in regard to the Christian religion. Others, after the manner of the Neo-Platonics, tend to combine into one sole system the doctrine of the two schools. But the Aristotelians, so long identified with the papal church, maintain their superiority and remain charged with the instruction of the young. In France and in Germany, the dispute of the realists and the nominalists continues more animated than at any anterior time. The taking of Constantinople gives disquietude to the Roman pontiffs; they are afraid for themselves. Calixtus III. (1455-58), despatches agents into all Europe to publish a crusade, and collect a tenth on the ecclesiastical revenues. But he obtains little success. Charles VII. opposes the raising of troops in his states, and the clergy of France refuse to pay the tithe. In Germany the pope is accused of opposing the decrees of the council of Bâle, of bestowing benefices and indulgences for money, of appropriating to himself the product of the tenths exacted under the pretext of a crusade. The Turks, extending more and more, seize the Greek empire of Trebizonde, where reigned the family of the Comnenes. They lay siege to Belgrade with a numerous army (1456), but John Huniade forces them to raise it. At the same time Scanderberg liberates Albania and carries on a long war against the Ottomans; after him the province falls back under their domination. Aeneas Sylvius, promoted under the title of Pius II. (1458-64) had at Bâle been one of the warmest partizans of the supremacy of general councils; become pope, he began to recant. War against the Ottomans is his constant pre-occupation. He convokes the Christian princes at Mantua (1459). There the resolution is formed to attack the Turks by land and sea, a resolution which was not carried into effect. The Germans are divided one from another; Charles VII. and king René wish that the affair of the kingdom of Naples should be first regulated, the investiture of which country the pope had given to Ferdinand of

Aragon (1458). The king of Poland carries on war against the Teutonic Chevaliers. Pius II. in vain promises the indulgence of a crusade ; in vain his legates received for their mission to conciliate the princes of Christianity one with another. At the end of various efforts he announces his intention to march against the infidels himself (October 1463), and in order to prepare himself he goes to pay his devotions to our Lady of Loretto, whose credit begins to be established. But death frustrates his warlike designs. Paul II. (1464-71) reduces to twenty-six years the interval of one jubilee to another. He proposes to reform the abuses of the court of Rome, and principally simony, which reigns in every place. Sixtus IV. (1471-84), equips against the Turks, in concert with the king of Naples and the Venetians, a fleet of more than a hundred sail, which receives his benediction at Ostia. The war against the infidels seems, however, to have given him less care than his quarrels with the city of Florence. He is suspected of having taken part in the plot woven against the two brothers Medici (22d April 1478). However, it is certain that after the assassination of Julian, he excommunicates Laurentius, on account of enterprises on the pontifical territories. The city and the state of Florence is put under interdict. These censures remaining without result, the pope enters into war against the Florentines and brings them to make acts of submission to him. He tries also, but without success, an expedition against Ferrara, which had been seized by the Venetians. Mohamed II., the terror of the court of Rome, besieges Rhodes in 1480. The following year, he sends a fleet into Italy. Otranto is taken. Sixtus IV., alarmed, thinks of retiring into France ; but the death of the Sultan restores his confidence (1481), and the Christians recover the city of Otranto. Innocent VIII. (1484-92) shows himself zealous for the union of the Christians against the Turks ; he makes the Chevaliers of Rhodes put into his hands the prince Zizim, who had taken refuge with them after having failed in an enterprise against Bajazet II., his brother. According to others, the zeal of this pope was only apparent and served as a pretext for amassing immense treasures with which he

enriched his numerous bastards. The Moslems of Spain had long been reduced to the kingdom of Granada, in which they maintained themselves owing to the divisions and civil wars of their adversaries. The marriage of Frederick of Aragon with Isabella of Castille, changes the state of things (1469). The two kingdoms, united under the same hand, undertake a war which lasts eight years, and ends by the capture of Granada, the last city which the Moors possessed in those regions (1492). The conquered have the option either of remaining in the country on becoming Christians, or of retiring into Africa, with the property they can carry with them. The majority prefer receiving baptism to quitting Spain.

The Jews are expelled from that country about the same time. Four months are given them to dispose of their goods and to quit, under the penalty of being sought after by the Inquisition, over which presides the spirit of Torquemada. Nearly a million of Jews expatriate themselves, most of whom perish miserably. Thirty thousand families seek refuge in Africa or in France. In this latter country, the Inquisition is not to be feared. In Spain, on the contrary, Ferdinand and Isabella uphold it with all their power. The establishment of this tribunal gives occasion to insurrectional movements in Aragon, which regards it as contrary to its privileges ; but these movements are repressed, the Inquisition remains triumphant. Under Torquemada, it burns in Spain more than ten thousand persons ; and the number of them on whom are inflicted other rigorous penalties amount to one hundred and fourteen thousand. Emmanuel, King of Portugal, also decrees the expulsion of the Moors and the Jews. The former betake themselves to Africa. The others are, for the most part, obliged to profess Christianity. Their children below fourteen are carried off and baptised by force. The Inquisition rages afterwards for the maintenance of these extorted conversions.

Christian Columbus discovers a new world (1492). Vasco de Gama, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, leads the Portuguese to the East Indies. The Court of Rome divides

America between Spain and Portugal, who are eager to install there the fires of the Inquisition, as well as in all countries dependent on them. Las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, in a memoir addressed to Charles the Fifth, values at not less than twelve millions, the number of victims destroyed in the new world in forty years by the cupidity of the Spaniards and the fanaticism of their priests. To Pope Innocent VIII. succeeds Roderigo Borgia, under the name of Alexander VI. (1492-1503). He owes his election to the venality of the sacred college. All the vices were in him, and he drew back from no crime. His public concubinage with Vanozia gave him four sons and one daughter, Lucretia Borgia, children worthy of such a father. Lucretia passes successively to the arms of four husbands, and hastens from one adultery to another, from incest to incest. This epitaph was made on her :

“ *Conditur hoc tumulo Lucretia, nomine, sed re  
Thais, pontificis filia, sponsa, nurus.* ”

Beneath this tomb lies Lucretia, Thais,\* she should be called ;  
The daughter, the wife, the daughter-in-law of a pope.†

The family of Borgias, a prey to unbridled passions, plunges into orgies, kills by poison and the sword, and makes money out of the most sacred things. On the death of the King of Naples, Ferdinand I. (1194), son of Alphonse II., received investiture from the pope. But Charles VIII., King of France, put himself forward to conquer that kingdom as heir of the house of Anjou. He traverses Italy without hindrance. He is received as master in Florence (Nov. 1494), where Savonarola had just declaimed against the pontifical power. The French sojourn nearly a month in Rome. The king at first proposes to depose Alexander VI., who had taken refuge in the castle of Saint Angelo. But afterwards they come to a reconciliation. Charles, in whose eyes the conquest of Naples was only a preliminary to the conquest of Constantinople, stipulates the release of the Prince Zizim, whom he wishes to make an instrument against Bajazet II. In effect he is released, but after he has taken a dose of poison, of which he dies at

\* An Athenian Courtezan.

† Alexander VI. (Roderigo Borgia).

the end of some days. The Pope, it is said, on that occasion received from the Sultan a considerable sum of money. Charles VIII. marches on Naples and seizes it without resistance. The Court of Rome, which is not willing to leave the French in possession of that country, forms a league with the Emperor Maximilian, King Ferdinand of Aragon, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan. Charles, after getting himself crowned at Naples, resumes the road of the Alps with his army (May 1495). The allies endeavour to bar his passage ; the battle of Formosa secures his retreat ; but the Spaniards soon drive the troops, which he has left, into the kingdom of Naples. The greater part of the lands of the pontifical domain was then in the power of a certain number of petty lords. Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar undertake to despoil them. That Cæsar Borgia, whom his father had at first made archbishop and cardinal, had shortly before laid down sacred orders, with dispensation from the Pope, and married a relative of the King of France, Louis XII., who had created him Duke of Valentinois. He was a man of execrable, perfidious, cruel, but audacious character, the veritable type of Machiavelli's tyrant. Louis XII. had been led to connect himself with the Borgias by the need which he had of the Pope for the dissolution of his marriage with the daughter of Louis XI., and to consolidate his establishment in the Milanais. With the aid of that prince, Alexander and his son make war on the neighbouring lords, and succeed *per fas et nefas* to get possession of their domains. These conquests, to say the truth, were made not in the interests of the Court of Rome, but for the aggrandisement of the Borgia family. The following popes made them their own. Since then the pontifical see enjoyed an uncontested power in the country which was designated the Roman States.

The Pope Alexander died, poisoned, it is said, having by mistake drunk of wine destined for others (Aug. 1503). After him came Pius III., who sat only twenty-eight days, and Julian de la Rovère, known under the name of Jules II. (1503-13). The French had returned into Italy. To the pretensions of Charles VIII. on the kingdom of Naples,

Louis XII. had joined his own on the Milanais, which he claimed from Valentine Visconti, his grandfather. Ludovic Sforzia was then possessor of that duchy. The French invaded it in a few days (1499), are driven from it, and reconquer it. Ludovic remains their prisoner. Master of the Milanais and of Genoa, Louis XII. unites with Ferdinand the Catholic to conquer the kingdom of Naples (1501). Ferdinand has for his part the island of Sicily, Calabria, and la Pouille, Louis the rest of the kingdom. But war breaking out among them, the Spaniards, commanded by Gonçalvo de Cordova, overcome the French and put themselves in possession of all the Neapolitan States. Julius II., a soldier pope, endeavours to augment and affirm the temporal power of the Court of Rome. After having recovered the places which César Borgia had appropriated, he forms against the Venetians the league of Cambrai, in which enter the Emperor Maximilian, the King of France, and the King of Aragon (1508). Excommunicated by Jules II., and beaten by the French at Agnadel, the Venetians make their peace with the Court of Rome, in ceding to it a part of Romagna (1540). Then the Pope thinks only of driving the French out of Italy. He coalesces with the Swiss, the Emperor Maximilian, and the King of England. The French at first repel the Swiss, seize Bologna, and gain the battle of Ravenna (1512); then they are constrained to evacuate the Milanais, which they retake the year following, without being able to maintain themselves there. In this war, Pope Jules II. leads his troops himself, his helmet on his head, and his cuirasse on his body.

Louis XII., in his turn, attempts to combat him by spiritual arms. He agrees with the emperor for the convocation of a General Council at Pisa. A certain number of cardinals and prelates reply to their appeal (1511). A sentence of suspension is rendered against Jules II. on the ground of contumacy. To paralyse this enterprise the pontiff assembles on the 10th May 1512, a general council in the Church of the Lateran. This council (the nineteenth of the Latins, the fifth of the Lateran) anathematises the Fathers of Pisa, puts France under an interdict, and con-

demns the pragmatic sanction. But death overtakes Jules II. in the midst of his vengeful projects (Feb. 1513). John de Medici, become Leo X. (1513-21), applies himself to restore peace where his predecessor had kindled war. He pardons the cardinals and the prelates assembled at Pisa, and treats with Louis XII., who consents to recognise the Council of the Lateran. At the death of that prince (June 1515) the first care of François I. is to recommence war in Italy. He passes the Alps, beats the Swiss at Marignan, and remains master of the Milanais. He concludes with Leo X. a concordat, of which the principal clauses are the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, the suppression of the canonical elections, the nomination to bishoprics and abbeys by the king, who presents to the pope the designated subjects, the abolition of the reserves and expectations, the restitution of the annates to the Court of Rome (14th Dec. 1515). This was almost entirely to annihilate the reforms decreed by the Councils of Constance and Bale. A strong opposition shows itself in France against this concordat. It is not registered in parliament except by an absolute order by the king, after protestations in favour of the Pragmatic sanction and an appeal to the General Council. The Council of Lateran, on the contrary, is eager to give it its adhesion. The last session of that assembly is held the 2d March 1517. The preceding year Spain and Naples passed under the sceptre of Charles of Austria, who will become the emperor Charles the Fifth. Let us notice, as a close to this chapter, the changes which were introduced during the middle ages in the discipline, the beliefs, and the ceremonies of the Roman Church. Notwithstanding the publication of the false decretals, the ecclesiastical discipline had not undergone notable perturbations until the eleventh century. But in the time of Gregory VII. other principles began to prevail.

The fundamental maxim of this new right is the unlimited extension of the papal power in temporal as well as spiritual matters, an extension which rests neither on Sacred Scripture, nor the ancient councils, nor the tradition of the most illustrious pontiffs; the decretals of Isidore Mercator II.

are its only source. It is in virtue of these fraudulent documents that the popes declare themselves with the title of Vicars of Jesus Christ, invested with the plenitude of power which would have appertained to him as God over the entire universe. Thence flow those theories unknown before—that the pope, in some sort God on earth, can be judged by no one, and is the supreme judge of all the world ; that, placed above the canons, he can make laws according to the want of the times ; that he has the right to depose bishops, to transfer them from one see to another, to create metropolitans, patriarchs, primates ; that no council can be held without his concurrence or order ; that every ecclesiastical person or layman who considers himself injured may appeal directly to him ; that he has the faculty of judging every cause in the first instance, or to send it before other judges, as also to concede exemptions and privileges which remove the cognizance of a great number of affairs from the usual judges ; that he has the direct sovereignty over all empires, kingdoms, and principalities ; that he can judge emperors, kings, princes—depose them, and transfer their dominions to other persons. To support the splendour of their court, to enrich their clients and their creatures, to provide for the costs of their wars, the pontiffs reserve to themselves the disposition of all benefices, all the ecclesiastical charges and functions, and do not confer them except at the price of ample contributions, annates, and other sources of gain. This trade develops itself on a larger scale from the time of their sojourn at Avignon, until at last a reaction ensues of which the Councils of Constance and Bâle are the first organs. To the increase of the papal authority the cardinals owe the high rank which they hold in the Latin hierarchy. From being simple official titulars in the churches of Rome, they go forward to bear rôle over the members of the episcopate. The election of the pope is in their hands. They assist him in his functions not in Rome only, but abroad. The legations, so frequent after the 11th century, are most frequently assigned to them with the title of legates *a latere*. They lead a grand train in their journeys, and return loaded with wealth. They have an

extraordinary jurisdiction, to the exclusion of that of bishops and other prelates, and may exercise it by means of delegates. They preside over councils, sitting above the bishops, archbishops, primates, and patriarchs, whose dignity they throw into the shade ; thence comes the cessation of provincial councils and the diminution of the metropolitan authority. Nevertheless the papacy, which rises so high above the episcopate, communicates to it, by a kind of compensation, a part of its new power over the laity ; it protects it ceaselessly, and secures its domination. It is a settled principle that the bishops cannot be accused, or are so with great difficulty ; that the pope alone has the right to judge them definitively. This shelters them from all penalty, unless they have offended the pontiff himself. If their jurisdiction is limited by that of the pope and his legates, the bishops repay themselves in their turn to the detriment of the lay judges, from whom a number of affairs are taken by reason of the quality of the persons or the causes. The episcopal jurisdiction appropriates, for example, the provisions which concern either clerics in their persons or their property, or widows, orphans, and other feeble persons, such as pilgrims, crusaders, or lepers. For the bishops, in consideration of the nature of the cause, are reserved judgments relative to the state of persons, to usury, adultery, sacrilege, pious bequests, affairs in which an oath is taken, or which are connected with spiritual matters. They equally take cognizance of crimes against the Church or religion, as schism and heresy, except the concurrence of the lay judge for the capture of the guilty and the addition of corporal chastisements in ecclesiastical penalties. The crime of heresy, even in regard to princes, involves the loss of property, lordships, and other rights ; and he is accounted a heretic who does not get absolved from an excommunication pronounced against him. Independently of particular reasons which serve to extend the jurisdiction of the bishops, there is one which applies to all causes, it is sin. Every debate, it is said, discloses unjust pretensions on the part of one of the parties, and sometimes of both ; now this injustice is a sin answerable to the Church. The

bishop by this means becomes the arbiter of all the processes of his diocese, as the pope of all the wars and contests which divide the princes of the world. The inferior members of the clergy take shelter equally under the false decretals. All clerics have privileges and immunities which protect them against the lay jurisdiction for their persons and their property ; and the number of the clerics increases indefinitely ; the bishops create them according to their good pleasure, without choice or measure. Some are simply tonsured persons, others have only the minor orders, compatible with marriage ; the privilege of clerkship extends even to domestics and the familiars of the ministers of the Church.

Besides the direct dominion which they claim over all the kingdoms of the earth, the popes claim an entire sovereignty over the city of Rome and the circumjacent regions. The first title that they allege, the donation of Constantin, is a supposititious act like the decretals of Isidore. It has served as basis for the acts true or false ascribed to Pepin, Charlemagne, and their successors, who nevertheless transmitted to the See of Rome only a domain subordinate to the imperial authority. But the sovereign power of the popes over Rome and the neighbouring lands was never recognised in the middle ages by the Roman people or the lords of those countries ; it is only in the sixteenth century that we see it consolidate in the hands of Alexander VI. and Jules II. The bishops and the abbots possess, like the pope, principalities, signorial lands, opulent domains ; they exercise a considerable portion of the public power.

The immense riches of the clergy are one of the grave diseases of the Latin Church. The love of territorial property distracts the pastors from the care of spiritual things. Opulence is a source of continual corruption. Clerics lead a self-indulgent and voluptuous life ; pride, avarice, sacerdotal ambition, overturn the entire world. The monastic orders acquire great importance in the lands of the West. They have a considerable influence over the events of this world, and take up the position of zealous partisans of the interests of the Roman See. Long since

they obtained its protection against the vexations of the bishops and the lords. Things go farther in the eleventh century. The popes, Gregory VII. specially, substitute themselves for the rights of the bishops over the religious orders ; the greater part of the monks depend alone on the Court of Rome.

The orders that are founded before the thirteenth century adopt in general the rule of Benedict, modified in a spirit more or less rigid. Despite of precautions, the regularity soon disappears when the primitive poverty is succeeded by wealth, with which the simplicity of the times is eager to load the monasteries.

Cluny, instituted about the year 910, enjoys great consideration owing to its first abbeys. It becomes rich and powerful, its establishments are numerous in France. The chief of the order is called the abbot, or the arch-abbot, of Cluny. But corruption is born of opulence. At the end of two centuries this order fell into profound oblivion. Italy saw rise in the Tuscan Apennine the Camaldules, of whom Romuald is the first abbot (1023), and not far from them, the congregation of Vallombreuse (1030). In the diocese of Limoges rises the order of Grandmont, special to France (1073). It begins to decline as soon as the strictness of its rule is lessened, which was very rigorous in the beginning. Bruno, Canon of Rheims, founds, near Grenoble, the Chartreux, whose rule is very severe (1084). The order extends into Calabria. It degenerates less than others, notwithstanding its riches. At a later day there are convents of Chartreux women. Citeaux, in the diocese of Chalons, is established under the rule of Benedict, with severer prescriptions (1098). Its reputation increases much in the days of Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, whom it regards as a second founder, whence the brethren are called Bernardins. A century after its establishment, the order possesses very numerous abbeys in the different regions of Western Europe ; it is governed by it in some sort in the temporal as in the spiritual. But perverted by its opulence, it finally quits its primitive austerity.

Citeaux and Cluny are rivals.

The Canons, receiving a new organisation, are distinguished into regulars and seculars (1059). The first are called regular Canons of Saint Augustin, whose rule they imitate ; they give themselves up to the instruction of youth. The community of Fontevrault, between Tours and Angers, is instituted by Robert d'Arbrisselles about the commencement of the twelfth century. It consists of monks and nuns, who live within the same walls, under the government of an abbess. Independently of Fontevrault, the principal house, others are established in different countries, each with its abbess. Doubts are more than once raised as to the chastity of the brethren and the sisters, even on that of the founder of the order, notwithstanding his miracles. The orders of Prémontré in Picardy holds the rule of Augustin (1121) ; it professes a blind obedience for its abbots.

The twelfth century saw the birth of the equestrian or military orders of the Hospitallers, Templars, Teuton Chevaliers, Chevaliers of Caltrava in Spain, Chevaliers of Saint James ; the Chevaliers of Alcantara come later. The depravation of the endowed monks leads to the creation of the begging orders, Franciscans and Dominicans. The other monks fall then into contempt by comparison made of their self-indulgent and idle life with the activity of the new brethren, who, always at work, fill the chairs of the schools and the churches. The ancient monks are at last spurred by emulation, and make laudable efforts to revive study amongst them. The order of Citeaux founds at Paris the college of Bernardins.

Despite the prohibition uttered by the fourth council of the Lateran (1215) against devising new religious orders, a prohibition repeated in the Council of Lyons in 1274, they none the less multiply under the encouragement of the Court of Rome.

In the thirteenth century, several orders appear for the redemption of the captives in Moslem lands. The Servites of the Virgin Mary make their appearance in Tuscany and acquire great extension.

The Jesuits and divers others are of the fourteenth

century. The fifteenth sees the order of the Hermits of Saint Jerome established near Florence ; the order of the Missions of Jesus and of Mary founded by François de Paul, the order of Sainte Mary or of the Virgins of the Annunciation, instituted by Jeanne de France.

As early as the eleventh century, two categories of brethren are distinguished in the communities, the monks of the choir and the lay brethren or converts. The last, without much learning, occupy themselves with manual labours and affairs of the outside. Their costume differs a little from that of others. Like laymen, they wear the beard long. The monks of the choir consecrate themselves entirely to prayer and study. Frequent divisions arise between the two for the pre-eminence. Notwithstanding this inconvenience, the distinction is not less generally admitted. It passes even to the nuns, among whom you find daughters of the choir and convert sisters. The monks of the choir, who are never drawn away from study, occupy themselves with theology, canon right, even with civil right and medicine ; but different councils forbid them these two last sciences.

The unedifying life of the monasteries calls on different occasions the attention of the heads of the Church. Innocent III. reproaches the cardinal Abbot of Monte Cassino with the disorder which reigns in his Abbey, while inviting him to correct the Brethren, and himself first of all (1199). He exhorts the Abbeys of the order of Cluny to the reform of their monks, whose avarice, ambition, and licentious life, scandalize the world (1213). The fourth council of the Lateran, in order to remedy the disorders, prescribes, among other things, that every third year general chapters shall be held to treat of reform, and the regular observance, and that in each general chapter capable persons shall be deputed to visit in the name of the pope all the monasteries of the province, even those of the nuns, and to correct or reform what it shall judge proper (1215). These measures not producing the expected effect, Gregory IX. commands the bishops (1232), to visit either by themselves, or by capable persons, the monasteries that are subject to them, and to correct in

them what required correction. In regard to the monasteries which are under the immediate dependence of Rome, the pontiff confides that care, not to bishops, but to abbots, principally of Citeaux and Premontré. These proceed with so much indiscretion, that their visit produces more confusion than reform. In 1258, a legate of the pope in England attempted to introduce reform among the monks of that kingdom. All these attempts remain fruitless, or have effects of short duration. The evil is connected with the opulence of the religious orders. The secular clergy is not less dissolute, and for the same cause. The military orders, more free and not less opulent than the monks of the Abbeys, lead a yet more scandalous life. On the demand of the king of Portugal, Alexander VI. permits the chevaliers of those orders, with the exception of the Rhodians (chevaliers of Malta) to marry and to live with their wives (1496). The usage is introduced in the middle ages, and becomes very common under the popes of Avignon, namely, of giving the monasteries *in commendam*, just as the other benefices. The commendatories receive all the revenues, on condition of defraying the monks, and of making the reparations necessary in the immovable. These commends, which, at a certain time, were given even to laics, are afterwards restricted to the secular ecclesiastics. The pope has the sole right of conferring the Abbeys and the regular priories, because he alone can dispense with the canons for what regards the inability of the persons to whom the commends are given.

Independently of their new theories on the power of the pope and the clergy, the Latins introduced in the middle ages a certain number of dogmas unknown in the anterior centuries. We must place in the first rank that which concerns the procession of the Holy Spirit. The doctrine of the ecumenical council of Constantinople (381), which makes the Spirit proceed from the Father, was admitted by the popes, as by the Oriental Church, even after the schism of Photius. But when the pontiffs saw themselves disengaged from the power of the Greek emperors, they come to the opinion of most of the Latin churches, which support the

*Filioque.* Rome defends it against Michael Celularius, and in posterior times. This point of divergence forms from then the principal subject of dispute between the Latins and the Greeks. The latter regard the addition made to the symbol as a veritable heresy ; and this view seems agreeable to the doctrines and the traditions of the Trinitarians.

The Latin Church introduced also great novelties in the Eucharist. In the eleventh century, the unleavened bread was substituted by it for the leavened. The dogma of the real presence is consecrated about the same time ; the fourth council of the Lateran authorises the word *transubstantiation* to designate that doctrine (1215).

The posterior popes establish a special worship in honour of the new God. They purchase superb ciboires to keep him in, magnificent lamps and other ornaments to embellish his abode. Honorius III. requires respectful obeisance at the elevation of the host or victim. Gregory IX. commands bells to be sounded at the moment in which the body of Christ is made by the priest. The host is carried in procession through the streets to be given to the sick and the dying. The festival of the sacrament of the altar, or of the body of Christ (which in France is called La Fête Dieu, God's Festival), is established first at Liege on the revelation of a nun. Every time she was at prayer she imagined she saw the full moon with a small defect. Now, the full moon was the Church, and the small defect signified the want of a festival in honour of "the holy sacrament." On this vision, the bishop of Liege orders a festival to be celebrated in his diocese (1246). Urban IV., archdeacon of Liege, established it for the whole church (1264). Thomas Aquinas composes, on this occasion, the office of the sacred sacrament which is still said. The death of Urban having interrupted the festival, it is renewed by the council of Vienna which confirms the Bull of that pope (1312).

The intervention of saints and angels in human things is much more active in the middle ages than at any other time. They take part in everything. Ceaselessly they are invoked, and ceaselessly they hasten to defend our species against the demons, or to carry their requests to heaven. They are

official intermediaries between disciples and God. At the same time, their power increases in strong proportion. In the tenth century, it was thought to be great enough to deliver not only from purgatory, but even from hell. The Roman pontiffs specially endeavour to exalt the apostle Peter, whose successors they claim to be ; he is in the skies the *alter ego* (the substitute) of Christ, as the pope is on earth.

In this same circle, the opinion prevails that the archangel Michael celebrates mass in heaven every Monday ; on that day the faithful crowd the churches which are dedicated to him. But of all divinities of the pontifical church, the Virgin Mary is the one whose glory increased the most in the course of the middle ages. In the tenth century she is made equal to her son for her merits, her power, and her mediation, to even God for mercy and grace. The West celebrates her mass every Saturday, and abstains from food in her honour. Her " Little Office " is instituted, and this is confirmed by Urban in the council of Clermont (1095). The celestial court, among the Latins of the thirteenth century, seems an imitation of a feudal manor ; God the Father is the baron always absent in the wars, hunting, or crusade ; Mary is the lady of the castle who presides, with the young lord her son, over the destinies of the serfs and the vassals. The power of this lady is raised to so high a degree in the mind of the multitude, that they will not believe she was ever polluted by sin, even in her mother's womb, an opinion which, despite the opposition of Bernard, Thomas Aquinas, and the preaching Brethren, strikes root more deeply every day, and is consecrated by the council of Bâle. But the popes and the Dominicans declining the authority of that council, the question remains undecided ; the discussion is interdicted by the Court of Rome, and at a later day by the Council of Trent.

Dominic established the Rosary or Psalter of the Virgin, accepted, it is said, and recommended by himself (1213). This devotion (which others carry back to the tenth century) consists in repeating one hundred and fifty times the angelic salutation, according to the number of the Psalms of

David, in adding, after each ten, the Lord's Prayer, which is thus said fifteen times. The Rosary is regarded as the most efficacious prayer for beating Satan and the demons, for convincing heretics, for subduing the Albigenses, for expelling maladies ; in reciting it, you are to contemplate the fifteen mysteries of redemption. The chaplet of the Virgin is of the same period ; it comprises sixty or seventy *Ave Marias*, intermixed with six or seven Lord's Prayers, according to the duration that they prefer to ascribe to Mary's existence, whether sixty years or seventy. The great number of miracles performed by the virtue of the Rosary causes a brotherhood to be instituted to which a heap of graces are accorded by the popes. John XXII. adds to the prayers of the Christians, the *Ave Maria*, which he orders to be repeated three times every evening at the third striking of the clock. Gregory XI. institutes the festival of the presentation of Mary in the temple, at the age of three years (1374), and that of her nativity with a suitable Office.

The Festival of the Visitation of Mary at the house of Elizabeth, founded by Urban VI. and Boniface IX., but little spread, is restored to credit in the fifteenth century by the force of indulgences. Toward the end of the seventh century the discipline of penance was become a regular science among the Latins. They possessed penitentials, in which sins were classed according to their importance, with the indication of the penalties to be imposed and the duties of the confessors. This discipline grew weaker in the following century. The custom begins to be introduced of commuting punishment into a pilgrimage to Rome, to Jerusalem, or other places. The crusades, with their plenary indulgences, put an end to the canonical penance. People full of vices and crimes go to seek their salvation in the Holy Land, whence they return still more corrupted. The penitentials fall into disuse, even for persons who do not assume the cross. Arbitrary penalties are imposed. The same state of things continues after the crusades are over. The ancient discipline falls into neglect ; no one thinks of restoring it. The public penance of preceding

ages is turned into bodily pains and penalties. The penitent appears naked to the waist, the cord on his neck, and holding in his hand rods, with which he is punished by the priests ; pecuniary fines are added. The penalties themselves may be bought off by indulgences obtained by alms-giving, donations to the Church, and other pious works. Thomas Aquinas, to justify the indulgences, invents his marvellous theory of the merits of the saints and of Jesus Christ, inexhaustible treasure which redeems the misdeeds of Christians, and of which the pope is the dispenser. The discipline in regard to heretics does not undergo fewer changes. The spirit of mildness of the earlier centuries disappears in the days of Charlemagne. Cruelties increase in the posterior centuries. In the middle ages dissidents are devoted to the crusades and funeral piles. Cathari, Albigenses, Vaudois, Beguards, Lollards, Hussites —all perish by the fire or sword. The Church holds blood in horror, says the Latin clergy. This is the hypocrisy of ferocious beasts ; they bid the civil power burn and hang ; they press into Languedoc, Bohemia, and other countries hordes of crusaders, led by priests and monks. If any dissidents succeed in escaping from their fury, auricular confession is there to denounce them, and the Inquisition to burn them alive.

In these times, worship consists no longer except in superstitions of all kinds ; worship of saints, images, relics ; fear of purgatory, visions and revelations, lustrations and expiations, liberalities to the priests and to the monks. Every day new festivals make their appearance ; new saints, new ceremonies, new religious mummeries.

By the side of the festival relative to the Virgin Mary and transubstantiation, we must cite among those which date from the middle ages :—

The general commemoration of the dead ; Odilon, abbot of Cluny, instituted it (1048) after it had been revealed to a hermit of Sicily that the prayers and alms of the monks of Cluny delivered souls from the sufferings of the other world ; this festival of the dead is afterwards approved at Rome, and then celebrated in all the Latin churches ;

The Jubilee established by Boniface VIII. at the end of the thirteenth century ;

The Festival of the Holy Trinity, founded by John XXII. ;

The Festival prescribed by Innocent VI. in honour of the lance which pierced the side of Christ, the nails which fixed Him on the cross, the crown of thorns which was placed on his head (1374) ;

The Festival of the pretended stigmata of François d'Assisi, instituted by Benedict XII. ;

The Festival of the transfiguration, which was already celebrated in divers places by the authority of the bishops, and which Pope Calixtus III. first consecrated by a diploma.

It would take too much room to enumerate the festivals of all the male and female saints placed in such numbers in heaven by the popular favour or canonised by the Roman pontiffs. In this last category, besides many others, stand: in the twelfth century, Edward, King of England, Canute, King of Denmark, Thomas of Canterbury, Bernard de Clairvaux ; and women illustrious in the legends—Hildegarde, Hildegonde, Elizabeth (the revealer of the eleven thousand virgins), Agnes, Sophia, Adelaide ; in the thirteenth, Louis IX., King of France ; in the fourteenth, Thomas Aquinas, Louis de Toulouse, son of Charles the Lame, King of Sicily ; in the fifteenth, the Franciscans, Bonaventura, and Bernardin of Sienna, the Dominican, Vincent Ferrier, Catherine of Sienna, Leopold of Austria, of whom Cardinal Baronius said, *Those new saints make one doubt of the old ones.* The number of ceremonies increases with that of saints ; at each new patron, new festivals, and new rites. The ceremonies do not multiply less than the worship of images and of relics, by pilgrimages and other devotions. The pomp of the external worship increases day by day. Religion becomes a kind of theatrical representation which speaks to the senses and impresses the multitude.

From the end of the tenth century the religious drama (imitated from Paganism) is introduced into the churches, and forms an integral part of the Latin worship. It is

specially during "holy week" that the show is offered to the eyes of the people. Christ and his disciples figure near the altar and in processions, having by their side Adam and Eve, John the forerunner and his lamb, the devil, the holy patron of the locality, &c. The festivities of Christmas rival the pascal solemnities. They are young priests, who perform the different parts of those dramas in which are reproduced the scenes of the infancy and the passion of Christ, as well as the most known points of the history of the Old Testament and the New. When God is the speaker three voices unite their accent to form the trinity. Dancing has its place in those festivities as a religious act.

The serious drama receives a mixture of the grotesque. The ass is the principal actor in that part. He has his regular part in diverse circumstances, for example, for the crib of Bethlehem, the flight into Egypt, the entrance into Jerusalem. On arriving before the altar, he stops, and they sing in his honour a poem half Latin and half French, of which the final stanza runs :

Amen dicas, Asine,  
Jam satur de gramine,  
Amen, amen itera ;  
Aspernare vetera  
Hez va ! hez va ! hez va !  
Bialx sire asnes, car allez ;  
Belle bouche, car chantez.

At length the clergy found out the unsuitableness and the ridicule of these gross farces. At the time of the Albigensian crusades (1210) a decree from Innocent III. condemns the masquerade and indecent jokes in the churches, and enjoins on the bishops to purify the sacred places. But this order is slowly executed ; the people cleave to the feast of asses and the comic scenes. Then the step is taken by which they are banished from the holy place.

From the end of the thirteenth century down to the approach of the Reformation, the drama is no longer played in the Church, although it remains faithful to the same beliefs. The vulgar tongue is substituted for the Latin. The ecclesiastics cease to be the sole actors, they retire gradually. Lay societies replace them for the drama of the passion. In

the fifteenth century appears The Fool (Stultus), whose caustic wit makes itself felt in the midst of the most lugubrious incidents. The religious drama remains in Spain until the end of the seventeenth century.

These Tragi-Comedies amuse the populace that are kept in ignorance, and have not permission to read the Scriptures.

## CHAPTER III.

### APOCRYPHAL BOOKS, FABLES, AND LEGENDS.

**SUMMARY:**—Lives of the Saints—Martial de Limoges—Ursula and the eleven thousand Virgins—Presbyter John—The Wandering Jew—The Stigmata of François d' Assisi—Mary Magdalen and her Companions—Our Lady de Loretto—Catharine de Sienna—The Holy Lance—Mark's Ring—Luke's Body—The Marriage Ring of the Virgin—The Blood of Jesus Christ—Prodigies and Miracles.

THE three first centuries of the middle ages are an exceptional period in the annals of the world among the Christians of the West. Never perhaps in any race of men, in a constituted society, was there so great a debasement of the intellectual level, ignorance so profound, credulity so gross. The powerful do not in this respect rise above the multitude. The clergy alone know how to read and write; when the schools begin to be renewed in the twelfth century they alone receive the ill-digested instruction which is given in them. Why be astonished if the sacerdotal caste attained a power till then unknown, if so many errors and superstitions ruled over people's minds, if so many prodigies and miracles sprang up on all sides. The lives of Saints written by obscure monks in the tenth, the eleventh, and the twelfth century, are almost the sole apocryphal pieces which appeared in the period which we have just traversed. They celebrate persons for the most part unknown and whose very existence is doubtful. In these times, when people were carried to heaven by popular favour, there is not a province, a city, a town, a hamlet, which does not revere some male or female saint of the spot, not a church or monastery which does not create them as the want is to attract the veneration of the faithful. The monks labour to throw into prominence in their narratives the merits of their order, or the

virtue of their relics, source of ceaseless income for the convent, they extol as great saints the persons who have sustained the cause of the popes against the civil power, invented new superstitions, exalted celibacy, the real presence and other dogmas of the Middle Ages, or transmitted rich domains to the churches and the monasteries. Miracles bestrew their narratives. The writer reports them on the testimony of people interested like himself in supporting them, or who are the dupes of a blind superstition. A cardinal bishop attributes a great number of these stories to the custom practised in monasteries of exercising the young monks in Latin amplifications or the life or martyrdom of some saint. They composed a kind of history in which the imagination played a greater part than truth. The most ingenious of these compositions were preserved and were found long after among the manuscripts of the monasteries. Then these fancy pictures were confounded with the real histories that were preserved in these establishments. Whatever their origin, the lives of the saints reproduce the ideas, beliefs, and superstitions of the period of which they are a living reflection. Among the fables or legends of the Middle Ages, whose number is endless, we shall content ourselves with relating some of the most known.

According to Gregory of Tours, the gospel was carried, about the middle of the third century, into different regions of Gaul, by Dionysius of Paris, Gratian of Tours, Paul of Narbonne, Saturninus of Toulouse, Martial of Limoges, Stemonus of Auvergne, and their disciples. Before that time Christians were mentioned as being only in the countries of Lyons and Vienne, converted by the mission of Asia, of which Pothinus was the head. The narrative of Gregory of Tours, which no document contradicts, was generally received till the ninth century. But when the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, appeared in France, Hilduin, Abbot of Saint Denys, confounding the Areopagite with the bishop of Paris of the same name, inferred hence that the conversion of that city dates from the first century of the Christian era. This opinion gains credit,

and it is soon concluded that Gratian of Tours, Paul of Narbonne, Martial of Limoges, and the others of whom Gregory speaks, equally lived in apostolic days. The legends take them from Rome into Gaul, in virtue of a mission of Peter, or Clement. That which circulates on Martial in the end of the ninth century, makes him a relation of the apostle Peter, and of the first martyr, Stephen. Baptised by Peter, he becomes one of the seventy disciples, is present at the resurrection of Lazarus, and at the Lord's Supper ; aids to wash the apostles' feet ; sees Thomas touch the hands and the side of Christ ; Jesus consecrates Martial by breathing upon him, and gives him the episcopal benediction before ascending to heaven. He is sent as an apostle to the natives of Aquitania, among whom he dies, the third year of the reign of Vespasian (72). This tradition, of which there exists no trace before the year 900, becomes in the eleventh century the occasion of a warm dispute between the church of Limoges and the monastery of Saint Martial of the same city, on the rank to be assigned to that saint in heaven. Some, the bishop of Limoges at their head, declare that Martial should be placed only among the confessors ; on the contrary, the Abbot of the monastery and his adherents, assert that having been one of the seventy disciples, he ought to be ranged among the apostles, on the same ground as Paul and Barnabas. The question is agitated in a council at Poitiers (1023), and in a council of Paris (1024). There Martial is recognised as an apostle. But the decision does not put an end to the quarrel ; all France takes part in it. Recourse is had to John XIX., who agrees with the council of Paris. The bishop of Limoges acquiesces in the sentence in a provincial assembly (1029). A council convoked at Bourges, two years later, equally holds Martial for an apostle, agreeably to the decision of the pope. Finally, in a grand council assembled at Limoges, about the same time, the controversy is terminated by reciting prayers, which the pope consecrated to the memory of the apostle Martial. In all these discussions neither the one nor the other of the two parties, neither the bishops of the council, nor the Roman pontiff, are aware that they make a mistake of two centuries

as to the time when the saint lived ; their notions of the history of the Church do not go so far as that.

In the twelfth century, you meet with many superstitious women that were made illustrious by the legends and the Roman Calendar. In the number we cite the Abbess Hildegarde, who had visions and revelations at the tenderest age, and whose writings received the approbation of a council held at Trèves (1150), Hildegarde, who, dissimulating her sex, lived under a man's name in a monastery of the Cistercian order, near Heidelberg ; Elizabeth, abbess in the diocese of Trèves, whose revelations were put into writing, among others that which concerns Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins.

We have a famous legend in that of Ursula and her companions, who suffered martyrdom near Cologne for their faith and their virginity ; but authorities vary as to the circumstances of the event. Some place it in the third century, under the empire of Maximin. Others prefer the fourth, in the time when the great Maximus divided Armorica among his Breton soldiers. In this last hypothesis, the eleven thousand virgins were sailing toward the Armorican shores to marry the new colonists, when a violent tempest drove them to the mouth of the Rhine, and thence to Cologne, where they are put to death. Others finally refer the history of Ursula to the time of the invasion of the Gauls by the army of Attila ; the Romans abandoning Brittany, the people of that country call to their aid the Anglo-Saxons, who drive them back into the country of Gall and Cornwall, and into Gaulish Armorica. Not less great is the divergence as to the native land of Ursula, on her betrothed, and on divers other details of the incoherent narrative.

Ursula then, daughter of Notus or Deonotus, Christian king of a country of Brittany, was endowed with rare beauty and exemplary wisdom. A king of the Angles, a pagan, but very powerful, asks her in marriage for his son Etherius, who is deeply struck with her. The father of Ursula is in great perplexity ; he was unwilling to marry his daughter to an idolater ; but he fears the anger of the king of the Angles.

The princess advises him to give a favourable answer, on condition that there are sent to her, to console her, ten virgins of high rank, to whom shall be added, as well as to herself, a thousand other virgins for each of the eleven ; that three years be allowed to her to renounce her virginity, and that the young prince, in that interval, shall be baptised and instructed in the Christian faith. All these articles are accepted. Etherius receives baptism ; the eleven thousand and so many virgins are assigned to Ursula, who immediately commences the work of their conversion. One of her aunts, Saint Girarsine, Queen of Sicily, comes with her family to aid her in this enterprise. When their conversion is accomplished, all the virgins embark with Ursula, and arrive in the port Tiel in Gaul, whence they betake themselves to Cologne. There an angel advises them to go to Rome. Arrived at Bâle, they leave their vessels and direct their way on foot toward the pontifical city, accompanied by the bishop, Saint Pantulus or Partalus. At Rome they receive the best reception from pope Cyriacus (there is no pope of that name), born, like them, in Brittany, and the nineteenth successor of Saint Peter. A divine revelation teaches that pontiff that with the virgins he ought to gain the palm of martyrdom. In presence of the people he renounces his dignity. All the world protest against his resolution, especially the cardinals, who believe him mad. Cyriacus persists, and ordains in his place a holy man by name Anterus (a pope of that name ruled in 235). The army of the virgins quits Rome with Cyriacus and Pantulus. Vincent, a cardinal priest, James of Brittany, who had for seven years occupied the metropolitan See of Antioch, and three bishops of Italy join them ; as also Marcellus, Greek bishop, and Constance, daughter of the king of Constantinople. Etherius, Ursula's betrothed, who has reigned over the Angles since his father's death, is told by an angel to go to meet the virgins to share their martyrdom, which he is eager to execute. When the holy troop arrives near Cologne, the city is besieged by the Huns. They throw themselves on the virgins uttering loud cries, and kill them as wolves which tear in pieces a flock of sheep ; the betrothed, the ex-pope, and the rest undergo

the same fate. It would be idle to enter into the detail of the miracles and other old wives' fables with which this legend is bestrewn ; for example, touching the sanctity of the land consecrated by the sepulture of the virgins, and which would not endure the inhumation of other corpses ; touching the discovery of the tumular inscriptions, and the remains of the virgins in the year 1156. It is still said that their relics are deposited in Cologne. Were it not lost time to seek for a meaning in the conceits of this period we might believe that near the city there was in the twelfth century found a considerable mass of human bones, which gave occasion to divers conjectures. The Abbess Elizabeth, celebrated then for her dreams and visions, would explain the discovery by this history of Ursula, borrowed perhaps from some legend of the time of the struggle between the Bretons and the Angles, and had decorated it according to the spirit of the middle ages. The contemporaries of the Abbess would receive the whole as a divine revelation.

The tales told about Prester John resemble an oriental story ; we will reduce them to what conflicts least with probability. In the midst of the troubles which agitated Tartary (Turquestan) toward the end of the eleventh century, John, a Nestorian priest, succeeded in creating himself a kingdom in those countries. As prince he is called Ung Chan ; but among Christians he is designated by the name of Prester (presbyter, elder, or priest) John, and his states are regarded as an earthly paradise, a country of abundance and absolute felicity. David, his son or his brother, who succeeds him, is also named Ung Chan and Prester John ; he is conquered and put to death by Genghis Khan, who seizes his kingdom. Whatever the source of this tale, which was current in the twelfth century, it was no longer known in posterior ages in what region this marvellous empire lay. In the fifteenth century a king of Portugal seeks after it ; his messengers, traversing Abyssinia, remark there divers things which correspond to the idea then held of Prester John ; they conclude that he was an emperor of Abyssinia ; but two centuries later, when the East is better known, Asia is unanimously said

to be the place of the real or fabulous dominion of this sovereign priest.

In the early years of the thirteenth century, society began to speak of a certain Joseph, who afterwards became The Wandering Jew. Matthew Paris reports that an archbishop of Armenia, visiting England, is interrogated respecting that Joseph who is said to have been present at the passion of the Lord, and to be still full of life, as a testimony to religion (1228). The interpreter replies in French, "My lord knows him very well, and a short time before he set out for the West he received him at his table in Armenia. When Jesus was taken by the Jews, and carried before Pilate, that man, named then Cartophilus, was the governor's porter ; and as the Jews drew Jesus out of the Pretorium, after he was condemned, Cartophilus pushed him rudely with his fist in the back, and insultingly said : 'begone quickly, begone, why dost thou delay ?' Jesus looked at him with a severe countenance and said to him : 'I am going, and thou shalt wait until I come.' After the resurrection of our Lord, Cartophilus received baptism from the hand of Ananias, who baptized Paul, and took the name of Joseph. He was about thirty years old, and when he reached his hundredth he fell into a sickness which appeared incurable, and during which he was ravished as in ecstasy. After his cure he found himself of the same age as at the passion of our Lord, and this renewal takes place every hundred years. He often dwells in Armenia and in other countries of the East, living with the bishops and other prelates ; he is a pious man, and of saintly life, who speaks little, and only to reply to the questions that are addressed to him on the facts of antiquity. He refuses presents and is satisfied with what is necessary for food and clothing. He awaits with anxiety the last coming of Jesus Christ, hoping, however, for mercy, because he offended him in ignorance." The Armenian, you see, amused himself with the simplicity of his auditors. It is in the same spirit that when questioned as to the existence of the ark of Noah, the archbishop replied that it still rested on the mountains of Armenia, where it stopped after the deluge. We have seen in speaking of the Festivals

established during the middle ages, that Benedict XII. had ordered that one should be celebrated in honour of the Stigmata of François d' Assisi. The following is the way in which the Minorets recount the history of those stigmata (Gal. vi. 17). Two years before his death François had retired to a mountain of the country not far distant from Camaldoli and Vallombreuse, to fast and pray during forty days. "One morning, near the Festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, as he was praying on the mountain side, he saw a seraph, having six luminous and burning wings, which descended from heaven with a rapid flight. When he was near, François distinguished between the wings the figure of a man having his feet extended and attached to a cross. Two wings rose above his head, two others stretched out to fly, and two behind covered all his body. This vision astonished him wonderfully. . . The vision, in disappearing, left a surprising ardour in his heart, and an impression still more admirable on his body. From that moment there began to appear on his hands and his feet the marks (stigmata) of the nails as he had seen them in the image of the crucified one. His hands and his feet seemed pierced in the middle ; the heads of the nails were seen above the hands and above the feet, and the points turned back on the other side, and sunk in the flesh ; on his right side was a crimson wound, as of a blow from a lance, and which often threw out blood with which his coat and his thighs were watered." Francis, in recounting this vision to some brethren, adds that he who had appeared told him things that he would not for his life discover to anyone. After his forty days passed in solitude he descends from the mountain ; and God confirms by other miracles, the marvellous impression of the stigmata. Since that time the holy man walks with his feet and his hands covered ; nevertheless the stigmata had been seen by several brethren, who bear witness in order to convince the unbelieving ; a similar declaration was made by some cardinals ; the pope, Alexander IV., preaching to the people said himself that he had contemplated them with his eyes during the saint's life. On his death they were freely seen. These stigmata were, according to

the historian of Francis, "nails formed miraculously of his flesh, and so adherent that when they were pushed on one side they advanced on the other, like nerves hard and all of one piece. These nails were black like iron. But the wound in the side was red and round like a rose. Several citizens of Assisi were allowed to approach, to see, and to kiss the stigmata. This story came opportunely to support the pretensions of the Franciscans who regarded their founder as a new Jesus Christ, similar in all things to the first ; his rule in their eyes was the veritable gospel of the Lord. A hymn ascribed to Gregory IX. gives to Francis the name of the typical Jesus. Belief in the stigmata becomes general ; in the ensuing century Benedict XII. ordains the Festival of the Stigmata. Nevertheless the legend has encountered many unbelievers. The Dominicans, those constant adversaries of the disciples of Francis, first mocked at them in public ; since the pope's Bulls they only dare to smile at them in secret. They have even adopted the plan of opposing stigmata to stigmata, saint to saint, Catharine of Sienna of their order, to François d' Assisi. Among unprejudiced persons two opinions prevail. Some see there only an artifice of the Minorites to extol the merits of Francis and thereby the consideration of the Order ; they allege that Matthew Paris, a grave author of the thirteenth century, denies that any trace of those stigmata appeared on the body of François. Others, admitting their existence as proved, declare that Francis made them himself from fanaticism, according to a custom then frequent, as is testified by *The Acts of the Saints*, and divers other documents ; they add that at the death of their founder the Franciscans, finding these wounds on his body, took it into their head to make them pass for a celestial favour with the aid of miracles, Bulls, and fictions. We have already reported several legends on the apostles and the disciples of Jesus. Mary Magdalen was destined to pay tribute to these monkish elucubrations. After the introduction of pagan usages, her relics are sought after as those of so many other personages. The Eastern Church believes that it possesses them at Ephesus. At the end of the ninth century

the emperor Leo, the philosopher, transfers them from that city to Constantinople, with those of Lazarus, supposed to be the brother of Magdalen. In its turn the West declares that it is in possession of those precious relics. It is asserted for many centuries that they are at Vezelay, in Burgundy, where was held the great parliament for the crusade preached by Bernard de Clairvaux (1146). In the following century the abbey of Vezelay effects their transference in order to put them into a silver vase (1267). King Louis IX. takes part therein with the legate Simon de Brie ; both retain some portions of these relics and give authentic certificates of their transference. At the same time the history of Magdalen began to be spoken of in Provence. Louis IX., on his return from the Holy Land (1254), paid a visit to Saint Baume, where, it was said, was the body of the saint, who had long lived in that solitude. The testimony of Joinville is the first which is produced in favour of the Provençal legend. But notwithstanding the visit of the pious king, Saint Baume did not counterbalance Vezelay in the minds of the faithful, since, thirteen years later, you see the same Louis IX. take part with a legate in the transference of the Burgundy relics, of which they each carry off small fragments. Provence does not the less persist, and its marvellous legend ends by eclipsing the rival pretensions. The first source was a revelation made by Magdalen herself to a retired Dominican in the thirteenth century in the grotto of Saint Baume. According to this legend, Mary Magdalen, Lazarus, Martha, Marcellus, her servant, Maximin (one of the seventy disciples), Cidon (the man born blind healed by Jesus), are arrested by the pagans after the death of Stephen (44). They are put on board a vessel without rudder or sails, which is abandoned to the waves of the sea. The ship makes way of herself, and comes to land at Marseilles in Gaul. Magdalen and her companions announce the gospel in that city and in all Provence. They have with them vials of sacred blood. Lazarus becomes bishop of Marseilles and Maximin of Aix. We spare the reader the miraculous circumstances of the narrative. Let us solely remind him that

Christianity was not preached on any point of trans-Alpine Gaul before the middle of the second century, and that Trophimus of Arles, the converter of Provence, did not enter the country until the middle of the third. Now after the conversion of Marseilles and the neighbouring lands (according to the Provençal legend), Magdalen retired for contemplation to a precipitous mountain, and remained for thirty years in a place prepared by the hands of angels. "There was in the place neither water, nor tree, nor herb, in order to thus manifest that the Saviour wished to support her, not by terrestrial aliments, but divine nutriment. Every day the angels carried her to heaven, where she heard with her bodily ears the glorious concerts of the celestial regions, and every day, sated with that delicious nourishment which came down to her by the ministry of angels, she had no occasion for any earthly aliment. When her end is near she tells Maximin to be alone in his oratory at his ordinary hour of going to bed. And at the time mentioned, entering into his oratory, he there found the blessed Magdalen, surrounded by angels who had brought her ; she was raised two ells above the earth, and, with extended hands, she prayed to God . . . . and the visage of the saint shone with such brilliancy that it would have been easier to contemplate the sun." After communicating in presence of the clergy and the people, she breathed her last, "leaving behind her an odour so sweet that the oratory remained embalmed with it during seven days." Maximin interred her, and orders that after his death he himself should be buried at her side. Of course a crowd of miracles are performed by Magdalen's relics and by her powerful intervention.

This history is supported by the Bulls of a great number of popes, the foundation of the monastery of Saint Maximin, where are deposited the relics of Magdalen ; the grotto of Saint Baume, where she did penance ; miracles done from time to time ; the vestiges of the places which she frequented in Provence ; the devotion of the kings of France and Sicily for these places ; the acts of the saints, &c.—all things which prove to-day only the folly of these and the

charlatanism of the others. In the last years of the thirteenth century the Latins lost their last possessions in Syria and in Palestine ; all those who were not able to flee to Cyprus were taken or slain ; there was no longer any hope of ever taking those countries from under the Moslem rule. Then was it that in a country of Dalmatia, not far from the sea-shore, there appeared one day a small house which no one saw constructed, and which rests on no foundation. Immediately a priest of the place (an accomplice in the matter perhaps) sees in a dream the holy Virgin, who tells him that this is her Nazarene abode, in which the mystery of the incarnation was consummated ; she was unwilling to leave it in the hands of the Saracens, and the angels had brought it into Europe for the benefit of the faithful who live in those regions. The priest rises, hastens to the indicated spot, and convinced of the reality of the fact, goes to announce it to the governor of the province. The latter gets the length of the house measured, and sends the priest with four persons, worthy of faith, to examine things in Palestine. At the time, Latins could not easily get into the country, and if any did, they would find it impossible to get out. However, the priest and his four companions make the visit without difficulty, and, as well-advised people, they by measurement acquire the proof that Dalmatia possesses the veritable cottage of Nazareth, the source of fortune and benediction for all the province. Their relation then confirms the truth of the matter ; this is really Mary's home ; it is the holy virgin that appeared to reveal it. None of these circumstances seems extraordinary at a time when miracles, apparitions, and revelations are as plentiful and as natural as blackberries in autumn. From all lands visitors come to see the holy place. But at the Court of Rome the question of the sojourn of the Virgin in Dalmatia becomes a popular topic ; it is strange that she did not establish her residence in the neighbourhood of the pope. Then comes the election of Boniface VIII. (1294). He was not one to put the angels in action ; it is by them that he had induced Celestine V., his predecessor, to lay down the pontifical dignity. Boniface

decides that the house of Nazareth shall be transferred into the States of the Church. Accordingly the angels deposit it in the diocese of Recanati, in the property of a lady named Loretto. The house had come without display into Dalmatia, but on its arrival in the Marshes of Ancona the sweet melodies of the celestial choirs set all Christian people in excitement; the legend certainly owed that display to the papal territory. The holy Virgin moreover takes the trouble of appearing to an anchorite to certify afresh that this is certainly the house in which she dwelt in Nazareth. In the interior there is a statue of Mary, chiselled by Luke, it is said, and placed there by the apostles. There, too, you see the altar on which Peter celebrated his first mass, and other things of the same kind. Boniface VIII. accords to the pilgrimage to Loretto the same indulgences as to that to Palestine. It seems, however, that the new establishment has suffered a little from the sojourn of popes at Avignon, but in the fifteenth century, Pius having gone to worship there, Notre Dame de Lorette acquired great celebrity. One cannot tell how many treasures have been offered there by emperors, kings, queens, and princes or princesses. In our days there is scarcely any but the low people of Central or Southern Italy that still believe in the house at Nazareth and the miracles of which it is the habitual theatre.

Catharine de Sienna, who interposed to bring back to Rome Pope Gregory XI. (1327), is also the object of a legend which ought not to be left in oblivion. Even from her tender infancy, she has ecstasies, revelations as well as appearances of Christ, the Virgin, the male and the female saints. Her writings and her legend testify that she bore the sacred stigmata, like François d' Assisi, although they were not apparent on the exterior. At the desire of the Virgin Mary, Jesus solemnly takes Catharine for his betrothed, and gives her a ring of precious stones, which remains on her finger as a marriage-pledge. There reigns between them the same familiarity as between two persons who have vowed to each other the most ardent love. One day Catharine asks her husband to make her a

new heart. He opens her side, and takes out her carnal heart, which he replaces for some days by another ; it was his own, which Jesus had exchanged for that of his wife. A scar remains on the left side of the saint in testimony of this great mystery.

Catharine had embraced the Order of Saint Dominic. On the renown of his miracles a religious Order of women is founded according to the same rule. Accordingly, the preaching brethren maintain with vivacity the stigmata which she bore on herself, and all the favours with which Christ had loaded her. Pius II., born in Sienna, canonises her in the year 1461 ; but under Sixtus IV., his successor, the Franciscans accuse of imposture the stigmata of Catharine, with a view to reserve to their founder the exclusive privilege of that celestial favour.

The worship of relics develops itself indefinitely in the middle ages. You have nothing else than miraculous discoveries, marvellous transferences of bodies, ashes, bones, blood, furniture, linen, clothing, belonging to Christ and to the Virgin, as well as the apostles, martyrs, and other saints. The Christian world resembles a vast reliquary. We will report some examples of the tales that sprang from this pagan mania. The discovery of the holy linen stands prominent among all the fables of the crusades. It will be remembered that it was made at Antioch, at the moment when the crusaders found themselves in a desperate position. It was preceded by a revelation made to two clerics of the States of the Count of Toulouse, and by an apparition of the apostle Andrew. This discovery served at least to reanimate the courage of the Christian warriors. The fraud was detected. But none the less has the iron of the lance remained an object of great veneration. The misfortune is that different churches fancy that they possess the treasure. Bajazet II. presented to Pope Innocent VIII., the iron of a lance which he met with among the relics of Constantinople ; but it is much doubted whether it is the same as that which pierced the side of Christ. The iron of the lance found at Antioch was equally preserved at Nuremberg, in the church of the hospital ; it is also

at Paris, Louis IX. having received it as a gift or a pledge from Baldwin II., Emperor of Constantinople; several other countries pride themselves equally on having it among their relics. The ring of Mark, the patron of Venice, was lost, it is not known under what circumstances. One day in the year 1339 three personages were brought on a barque into a place near the Lido. The sea was very stormy. On landing, they find a vessel full of demons, by whom the tempest had been raised. Those spirits are repressed by them, and the calm returns. The three passengers regain Venice. They repair to three different churches, one to Saint Nicholas, the other to Saint Gregory, and the third to Saint Mark. The last gives as pay to the conductor of the barque a ring, which he charges him to hand to the Senators, and declares to him that he is Mark the Evangelist, to whom that jewel belongs. The senate believes the account, and the ring is preserved among the precious things of the treasures of Venice.

Under the pontificate of Sixtus IV. there arises between that same city and Padua a warm dispute in connection with the body of Luke the Evangelist. The Paduans had for a long time been in possession of the body of Luke, which had come from Constantinople, and was deposited in the Monastery of Saint Justin. But there existed another at Jaicza, metropolis of Bosnia. In the time of Sixtus IV., the latter is transferred to Venice by the Franciscans, who offer it to the Doge. Thence arises the question which of the two is the true body. The dispute grows hot. The Paduans refer the affair to the decision of the Pope; he pronounces for their relic, and imposes silence on the Venetians. The misfortune of their relic, in the circumstances, is connected with the fact that their body of Luke is entire, including the head; now, the basilica of the Vatican flattered itself with having a head of Luke; the pontiff could not, therefore, acknowledge the body of Venice. On the contrary, that of Padua was decapitated.

About the same time Perusia and Chiusi fall out on the subject of the marriage-ring of the Virgin Mary. The matter in question was a jewel of great value, which a

pearl merchant had brought from Jerusalem into Italy. He offered it to a jeweller of Chiusi, without any proof, as the marriage-ring which the Virgin had received from Joseph her betrothed. But the marvellous virtue of this ring is soon revealed to the inhabitants of Chiusi by a crowd of miracles. In course of time their relic is stolen by a thief, who carries it to Perusia. Warm debates ensue between the two cities. Sienna embraces the cause of Chiusi. They are on the point of flying to arms. But Innocent VIII. arranges this thorny business. Among relics those which come from the body of Christ are specially sought after, as, for instance, his blood. Different countries hold that they each have some drops of it, or his foreskin, which is worshipped at Rome in the Church of the Lateran, and which other countries glorify themselves with possessing.

In the year 1247 Henry III., king of England, receives from Templars and Hospitallers, a very ancient vase of crystal which contains some of Jesus' blood, as is attested by the patriarch of Jerusalem, the bishops, the abbots, and the lords of the holy land. The prince assembles all the grandees of his kingdom. The precious relic is carried in solemn procession to the church of Saint Peter at Westminster, which receives it as a gift. The bishops of England, exalting this relic above all others, grant six years and one hundred and forty days' indulgence to all who shall come to honour it. Nevertheless doubts arise. It is asked how Jesus, who rose entire, could have left some of his blood on the earth. It is replied on the faith of an apocryphal book, that Joseph of Arimathea, after detaching from the cross the body of the Lord, took some blood from his wounds, especially from that of his side, with the water with which he washed his body ; that he gave some of it to Nicodemus, and that this treasure, preserved from generation to generation, is come to the patriarch who at this moment besieges Jerusalem. In regard to the objection drawn from the resurrection, it is said that the blood left by Jesus Christ on the earth resembles that which comes from letting of blood, the loss of which does not injure the integrity of the living body. The legend of Magdalen and her companions which

was formed at the same time, makes them also bring into Provence a portion of this precious blood. Several other countries equally believe that they possess the same, on grounds equally valid. But a warm and long dispute arose between the Dominicans and the Franciscans on the nature of the worship which ought to be paid to this blood of Jesus. It arises at Barcelona in the year 1351 ; Pope Clement VI. leaves the question undecided. A Franciscan renews it in 1462. He maintains in a sermon that the blood shed on the cross has ceased to be in the hypostatic union, and cannot then be the object of an immediate and divine worship. The Dominicans affirm the contrary. The opinion of the Minorite is brought before the Inquisition as heretical. The cause is publicly debated between the two Orders ; they accuse each other of heresy. Pius II. submits the difficulty to a certain number of theologians, who do not decide between the two parties. Finally, after many altercations, the same pontiff imposes silence on the disputants and declares that each of the two opinions may be held without danger, until the pope has had time to examine the question (1464). The Court of Rome has the work still in its hands. In these ages of ignorance and superstition, prodigies are superabundant in the heavens as on the earth. The ordinary phenomena of nature freeze all hearts with fright. Blood is discovered in the sun and in the moon, in the rains that fall, in the fountains that flow ; stars that grow pale, violent hurricanes, unheard-of dearths, disastrous colds, inundations of seas and rivers, earthquakes, conflagrations kindled by fire from heaven, monstrous births, deadly apparitions, frightful predictions keep the world on the tiptoe of alarm. The celestial powers work a world of miracles to save men ; the infernal powers are equally productive to destroy them. Jesus, the virgin, the angels, the male and the female saints every day dispute for souls against the spirit of Evil ; and the devil is not always the less skilful and the less strong. Conversation is filled up with dreams, visions, apparitions, delusions ; these are a pure effect of the popular credulity : those are set in movement in the interest of monks and priests, to confirm old and new superstitions

which they profit by, the new dogmas which they invent, or the sacerdotal authority which the dissidents shake. Is there a scheme for canonising a deceased person ? Miracles are produced around his tomb. Do they wish to authorise relics ? The very touch of them produces incessant cures. Thousands of prodigies attest the power of the saints, those divinities of the Catholic Church, and the efficacy of their intervention. Their images are animated and in some sort divine ; they bleed, they speak, they eat, they strike, they weep, they distil oil, they express milk from their teats ; there are some which pass for having been painted by the hand of angels. The image of Veronica, which is preserved at Rome in the church of the Vatican, having of herself turned her forehead below, the beard on high (1216) the pope grants ten days' indulgence to whosoever will recite a prayer in honour of that relic.

Astounding marvels corroborate the dogma of transubstantiation ; it is a hungry ass which, at the approach of the holy Sacrament, neglects its pasture and bends its knees to adore the host ; it is a host changed into a fine infant in the church of Cambrai (1254), it is at Paris the host given to a Jew which, pierced by a penknife and a nail, sheds blood, then, thrown into the fire, escapes uninjured, and whiskers about the chamber until finally plunged in a pot of boiling water, tints it with blood, and rises aloft leaving the figure of Christ on the cross to be seen ; there are other bloody hosts under the effect of blows from Jews or other dissidents, yea, a superabundance of tales of the same nature. The existence of purgatory is proved by visions and apparition of souls in suffering who beg for masses and prayers for their deliverance. Perpetual miracles come to sanction the pontifical autocracy, to determine pious donations, to accredit pilgrimages, the confraternities, and other devotions in honour of the virgins and the saints of paradise.

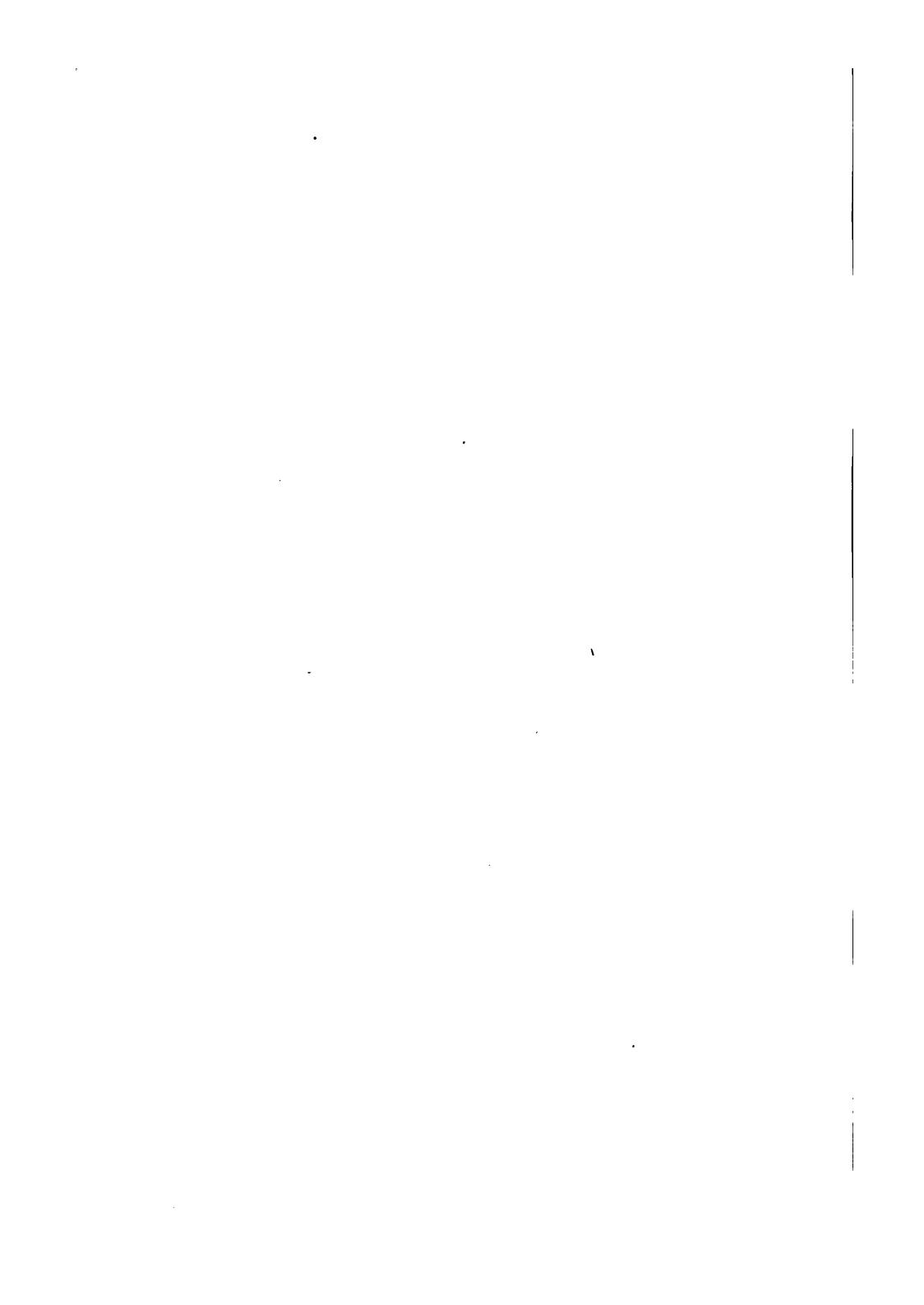
Happy times which superstitious worship cannot too much extol.

**Book the fourth.**

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**THE MODERN CHURCH.**

**(1517-1870)**



## CHAPTER I.

### THE REFORMATION.

(1517-1598).

**SUMMARY.**—Luther's Beginnings—Diet of Worms—Luther carried off—Progress of his Doctrine—Hadrian VI. — Clement VII. — Diets of Nurenberg and Spires—The Lutheran Protest—Zwingli—Reformation in Switzerland—The Anabaptists—War of the Peasants—Persecutions—The Moravian Brethren—John of Leyden—The Mennonites—Sack of Rome by the Imperialists—Diet of Augsburg—Confession of the Lutherans—League of Smalcalde—Peace of Nurenberg—Lutheranism in Scandinavia—Religious War in Switzerland—Paul III.—The Council of Trent (1st Convocation)—Religious War in Germany—Battle of Muhlberg—Transference of the Council to Bologna—The Interim—Suspension of the Council—Jules III.—The Council of Trent (2d Convocation)—Protestant Insurrection—Treaty of Passau—Religious Peace—Reform in Geneva—Calvin—The French Refugees—Theodore Beza—Reform in France—Edicts of Francis I.—Massacre of the Vaudois—Persecutions—Conspiracy of Amboise—The Triumvirate—Colloquy of Poissy—Reform in England—Henry VIII.—Rupture with the Court of Rome—Edward VI.—Mary—Elizabeth—The Puritans—Ireland—Scotland—Marcellus II.—Paul IV.—The Inquisition at Rome—Pius IV.—The Council of Trent (3d Convocation)—The Acts of that Council—It is not received in France—Philip II.—The Inquisition in Spain—Insurrection in the Low Countries—Republic of Holland—Death of Mary Stuart—The Great Armada—Religious Wars in France—Battle of Dreux, of Saint Denys, of Jarnac, of Moncontour—The Saint Bartholomew—Siege of Rochelle—The League—War of the three Henrys—Battle of Coutras—Defeat of the Germans—Barricades in Paris—States of Blois—Battles of Argues and Ivry—Blocade of Paris—Estates of the League—Abjuration of Henry IV.—Pius V.—The Bull in *Cœna Domini*—Gregory XIII.—Correction of the Decree of Gratian—Sixtus Quintus—Urban VII.—Gregory XIV.—Innocent IX.—Clement VIII.; Reform of Monks—New Orders—The Jesuits—Progress of the Calvinists—Lutherans Divided—The Reformation in Poland, in Hungary, in Transylvania—Unitarians and Socinians.

THE indefinite prolongation of the Council of Bâle and its struggles with Pope Eugenius, ended by detaching from these assemblies. After its dissolution, the princes of the West no longer insisted on the execution of the decree of Constance, which prescribed the calling of a general council

every ten years. The pontiffs, on their side, far from putting an end to the abuses of the Court of Rome, did their best to paralyse in their effects the acts of the councils of Constance and Bâle, and acted, for the most part, as secular princes, more than veritable chiefs of religion. Mingling in all the affairs of the world, warriors, artists, men of pleasure, they evaded reform by the lustre of the festivals, and the roar of battle. The conquests of Alexander VI. and Jules II., secured to the popes the preponderance in Italy, and in consequence, a great influence in the other states of Europe. In the commencement of the sixteenth century, the complaints against the pontifical usurpations had ceased to be heard. All the West was subject to the see, so far as spiritual things were concerned. The sole exception was the voice of a small number of dissidents in the Vaudois of a corner of the Alps and some Calixtines in Bohemia. If in the last years of Jules II. his violent debates with king Louis XIII. had produced the danger of schism, all fear in this respect came to an end with the death of the pontiff. Leo X. was soon reconciled with the king of France, and afterwards obtained from his successor a concordat which nullified the pragmatic sanction of Charles VII. Everything then smiled on the Court of Rome ; the reign of Leo seemed to promise a long course to its prosperities. This pope, an issue of the illustrious house of Medici, had, as well as his two brothers, been brought up by the best masters of the revival of letters, all three showed themselves friends of literature, art, and science. Leo was good, humane, liberal, affable to everybody, favourable to virtuous and learned men. But he was reproached with not being so well versed in the things of religion, nor as pious as his pontifical functions required ; and he gave himself little concern about these reproaches. From the time of his election he indulged in an extreme magnificence. His coronation cost one hundred thousand crowns of gold. His benefactions call in the fine arts. Festivals and pleasures of all kinds succeed each other in his voluptuous court. Jules II. had undertaken the construction of the basilica of Saint Peter ; Leo continued the work with ardour. His excessive liberalities, his splendour.

and his inconsiderate expenses, soon exhausted the habitual resources of the Roman See. Recourse must be had to expedients. Under the pretext of a war against the Turks, the pope ordered the sale of indulgences ; he promises them to whoever would pay. A part of their product is distributed even before it is received. Leo's sister obtains as her share whatever comes from Saxony, and the adjacent countries, as far as the Northern Sea. The sole object is to draw from the expedient the greatest advantage possible. The Dominicans are charged with the function of collecting the products. This sale of indulgences is the drop of water which makes the pail overflow ; the spirit of opposition is about to awake with more intensity than ever ; the dissidences of anterior ages will rise with redoubled strength, and prove triumphant in the face of the Church of Rome. The Dominicans then set about preaching indulgences in the electorate of Saxony, under the direction of one of them, John Tetzel, inquisitor of the faith. No means is repugnant. They sell the remission of all sins, present, past, and future ; they offer their wares in the hotels, a good part of the money is spent in debauchery. The elector, Frederic the Wise, is indignant at their conduct. The Augustins rise against this preaching, and at their head, Martin Luther, one of them, a professor in the university of Wittenberg. Born at Eisleben, in Saxony, the year 1483, Luther had entered the order of the Hermits of Saint Augustin, in which he had been made a priest in 1507. He becomes a doctor in the University of Wittenberg (1512), and he is charged with the teaching of theology there. To an elevated genius, to immense knowledge, he united natural eloquence and great firmness of character.

He begins by attacking the abuses of the preaching ; then he examines the indulgences themselves, and publishes on this subject a thesis in ninety-five propositions (1517). Tetzel replies by one hundred and six contrary propositions, in which he exalts the Pope above the general councils and the universal church. In his quality of inquisitor he publicly burns the theses of his antagonist ; Luther's disciples treat in the same way the theses of the Dominican at Wittenberg.

In the heat of the controversy Luther is soon led to discuss justification, the efficacy of the Sacraments, and divers other matters, but still without denying the authority of the Holy See. The pope, at the instigation of the Dominicans, cites him to appear at Rome, the elector interposes, and obtains that the cause be examined in Germany. Cardinal Cajetan, legate of the pontiff, is appointed for its consideration. Dominican himself, he is ill disposed toward an adversary of his order. When the Augustine monk appears before him at Augsburg, he requires him to retract under pain of the ecclesiastical censure. For fear of being arrested, Luther appeals to the pope, better informed, and secretly quits the city. He continues to teach his doctrine at Wittenberg, under the elector's protection. A letter from Leo X. is published in Germany in favour of indulgences. The pope ascribes to himself the power to remit all the penalties due to sin, of whatever nature they were. Luther appeals from Leo, ill-informed, to a general council, which represents the universal Church. The number of his adherents increases daily. He is seconded by the professors of the university of Wittenberg, and by other scholars who join him. Among them are distinguished Carlstadt, Canon and Archdeacon of Wittenberg, Storck, Muncer and, above all, Melanchthon, the faithful disciple, and one of the first men of the Reformation. Born in the Palatinate, Melanchthon had been at one-and-twenty years appointed professor of the Greek language in the University of Wittenberg (1518). He was endowed with a fertile spirit, exquisite taste, and prompt discernment. His mild and conciliating temper formed a contrast with the dominating genius and the impetuous character of Luther.

The year 1519 the Chevalier Meltitz comes into Germany with a mission from the pope to insist with the elector on the expulsion of Luther. Disregarded by the prince, he endeavours to bring back the doctor. The latter, in order not to alienate Frederic, consents to write to the pope a submissive letter, in which he throws the troubles on the indiscretion of the preachers of indulgences.

Conferences are held in Leipzig the same year in presence of George of Saxony, of the senate and university of the city. Eckius, professor of theology at Ingoldstadt, disputes there publicly against Carlstadt and Luther, on the pope's supremacy, purgatory, indulgences, free-will, and grace. Each party, as is usual, claims the victory.

Eckius repairs to Rome, and, with the aid of the Dominicans, infuses life into the proceedings against Luther ; Leo X. by a bull, condemns forty-one propositions extracted from the writings of the Augustine monk, and enjoins on him to retract them in sixty days under pain of being held for a heretic (15th June 1520). The elector of Saxony refuses to receive the Bull ; the university of Wittenberg rejects it. Luther again appeals to a general council, and from then is no longer guarded as to the Court of Rome. He composes the book entitled *The Captivity of Babylon*, where the foundations of his system are laid. There he admits only three sacraments, baptism, penance, and the eucharist. The real presence is acknowledged by him in the Supper, but not transubstantiation. The body and the blood, according to Luther, are *in, with, and under* (in, cum, sub), the bread ; that is called *consubstantiation, impanation, and invination*. The communion under the two species is declared of divine right. He retrenches from the mass the ceremonies and the prayers of the liturgy, in order to hold solely to the sacramental words. The law of celibacy no longer binds the ministers of worship. His writings are thrown into the fire by the partizans of the Court of Rome at Louvain, Cologne, Mainz, Trèves. In his turn Luther burns in the public square of Wittenberg, in presence of the doctors and the scholars of the university, Leo X.'s Bull, and the decretals of his predecessors (10th December). A new Bull from the pope denounces Luther as a heretic, as well as all his adherents.

Charles V. has just been crowned emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle. He assembles a diet at Worms in January 1521. The representatives of the pope accuse Luther there of troubling the faith of the Church and the public tranquillity. Summoned to the diet, Luther repairs thither with a safe

conduct from the emperor ; he acknowledges the books published with his name, and refuses to retract anything unless he is convinced by holy Scripture and evident reasons. He is allowed to leave. On his road, two masked cavaliers carry him off by a secret order from the Elector of Saxony, and take him to the castle of Wartburg. An edict of the diet, passed on the 8th of May, in execution of the sentence of the pope, declares Luther an obstinate heretic, and separatist from the church, interdicts the reading or possessing of any of his writings, forbids all to give him an asylum under pain of treason ; and orders that his accomplices shall be pursued and spoiled of their goods. In his retreat, which he calls his Isle of Patmos, Luther finishes the elaboration of his plan of reform, and writes several books in support of his doctrines. But troubles arise in the church of Wittenberg. Carlostadt, in the absence of the master, wishes to take the direction of the Reformation ; and soon passing from theory to practice, he removes the images out of the churches, abolishes auricular confession, fasts and abstinence in Lent, the invocation of the saints, private masses, monks' vows, the celibacy of the priests. He is one of the first to marry, and this he does to set an example. Luther, quitting his retreat, arrives at Wittenberg in the beginning of 1522. Without fundamentally disapproving the measures taken by Carlostadt, he judges them inopportune. The important matter in his judgment is first of all to instruct the people ; the rest will come of itself. Did he feel some dissatisfaction because action had been taken without his concurrence ? Did he fear the elector would be dissatisfied, to whom all these novelties gave disquiet ? However it may be, Luther declares against Carlostadt's attempts. The latter resists, and combats the real presence. He then exercises the functions of the ministry at Orlamund. Some time after he is banished by the elector, and retires into Switzerland. Luther publishes, for the instruction of the people, a German translation of the sacred Scripture, which greatly tends to augment the number of the friends of reform. All now worship God in their native tongue.

Pope Hadrian VI. (1522-23) demands by his legate from a Diet assembled at Nurenberg (Nov. 1522) the suppression of Luther's enterprises, and the application of the penalties decreed by the Edict of Worms. Charles V. was not present at that Diet. The German princes, who are little disquieted about Luther's disputes with the pope, show themselves unanimous to recriminate against the see of Rome. It is its abuses, they say, which make the people favourable to the dissidents. They conclude by demanding the convocation in Germany of a general council to be entirely free. After the departure of the Nuncio they draw up under the title of *centum grāvamina* (*a hundred grievances*) a memoir in which are set forth a hundred complaints against the court of Rome ; it is added that the Germans have others to put in when they shall have obtained satisfaction for the former, and that they are resolved to deliver themselves from the oppression in which they have so long been held. This memoir is published in the form of an Edict, the 6th March 1523 ; it is spread throughout Germany.

Luther, who interprets it in his favour, teaches that the church is wherever the gospel is preached in its purity, and that the disciples are judges of the doctrine and the vocation of ministers. He draws up for the church of Wittenberg, a new form of mass and communion, rejects masses for the dead as well as private masses, and disallows all the festivals of saints, or transfers them to Sunday. In writings published the same year, he attacks the vow of chastity and religious profession (monastic life), he requires that monasteries shall be abolished, that the property of the clergy shall be taken possession of, and that with the revenues of the convents and benefices, there be created a common fund for the support of pastors and preachers, schoolmasters and mistresses, old people, the infirm, the sick, orphans without resources, poor people laden with debts.

At the beginning of 1524 a new Diet meets at Nurenberg. Clement VII. (1523-34) demands in it by the voice of Cardinal Campeggio, a rigorous suppression of the sectaries, and at the same time succour for Hungary, overwhelmed by the Turks. The Diet, remembering the memoir sent the

preceding year, inquires whether the legate brings a reply to the hundred griefs. He feigns ignorance of the memoir, and declares himself ready to treat of the complaints which are raised. Conferences are held with him without result. Campeggio limits himself to presenting some regulations for the German clergy ; the princes, not regarding them as serious, refuse to accept them. The Diet, by a decree of the 18th April, insists on the assembling in Germany, with the consent of the emperor, of a free council in which the disputes occasioned by Luther's doctrine shall be terminated. It indicates another assembly at Spires, for the month of November, and engages the princes to execute the Edict of Worms, as far as they are able.

The emperor, who was then carrying on war in Italy, had solid means for managing Clement VII. At the reception of the decree he flies into a passion, complains of the restrictions made in the Edict of Worms, and opposes the meeting of a Diet at Spires.

Meanwhile Lutheranism gains ground in Germany. After the death of Frederic the Wise (May 1525), its progress augments day by day. That elector, while protecting Luther, watched the Court of Rome, and refused to introduce any change in the churches of his states. John, his brother, who succeeds him declares openly for the Reformation. It prevails also in Strasburg, at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and counts followers in all the provinces of the empire, except the hereditary states of Austria. About this time Luther marries Catharine Von Bora. Albert of Brandenburg, grand master of the Teutonic Order imitates his example, and by an agreement concluded with the Poles, becomes duke of Oriental Prussia, for which he does homage to them. The elector, John, suppresses the monastic orders in Saxony. He takes to himself a moiety of the revenues of the clergy, and gives the surplus to the hospitals and the Lutheran ministers. The new religion acquires another protector in Philip, landgrave of Hesse ; the duke of Brunswick also declares for it. Luther and Melanchthon regulate by a body of laws the government of the Church, public worship, the rank and functions of its ministers. Lutheranism is founded ; it takes the name of the Evangelical or Primitive Church.

In a Diet held at Spires in 1526, under the presidency of Ferdinand of Austria, the ambassadors of Charles V. insist on the execution of the sentence pronounced at Worms against Luther and his partizans. This request meets with strong opposition. After long debates, it is unanimously agreed on to present a request to the emperor that he would, as soon as possible, convene a free and general council ; and it is decided that until the convocation of that council the princes and states of the empire should make such ecclesiastical arrangements as they judge proper, they giving an account to God and the emperor. During several years his serious occupations in Flanders, Spain, and Italy do not allow that prince to give serious attention to the affairs of Germany. The dissidents, in the interval, make rapid progress, owing to the liberty granted by the Diet of Spires. But their tranquillity ceases when Charles the V. has put an end to the troubles which agitated the other countries of Europe.

A new Diet, assembled by Ferdinand at Spires in March 1529, revokes, by the plurality of votes, the power which the preceding one had given to the princes to make such ecclesiastical regulations as they thought good ; it decrees that in the places where the Edict of Worms was received, it should continue to be observed until the council, and that in the places where the Reformation prevailed, it should be maintained till the same time, but without abolishing the mass, and the free exercise of the Roman religion, also without authorising the conversion of catholics.

A strong opposition shows itself among the Lutherans. They complain that a blow is struck on the liberty of religion which had been guaranteed till the holding of the council ; they solemnly *protest* against the new Edict, appealing to the emperor ; to the future council, whether general or national, and to all not suspected judges (19th April.)

This *Protest* gives them the name of Protestants, which is afterwards applied to all the sects dissident from Roman Catholicism.

Ferdinand, who has need of everybody to fight against the Turks, leaves each one free to act according to his will.

During the time in which Lutheranism was coming into existence in Germany, analogous circumstances brought reform into the Swiss countries. Ulric Zwingli had been promoted at the age of thirty-one to the direction of the principal parish of Zurich (1518). The following year indulgences are preached by a Milanese Franciscan, whose receipts were abundant. Zwingli declares against the indulgences, and successively against the authority of the pope, the sacrament of penance, the effect of good works, the invocation of the saints, the sacrifice of the mass, monastic vows, the celibacy of priests, abstinence from meats, but without as yet introducing any modification in the ceremonies of the external worship. His opinions having spread, he induces the senate of Zurich, at the commencement of 1522, to appoint an assembly in which they shall be discussed between his adversaries and himself; the magistrates pronounce in favour of the sentiments the most in agreement with the Word of God. A great number of ecclesiastics come to the appointed place of meeting, but they refuse to speak, reserving the decision to the bishop of Constance. Then Zwingli develops his doctrine in sixty-seven propositions. An edict of the senate decides that that doctrine shall be received in the canton of Zurich, and taught by the pastors and preachers; the external worship does not as yet undergo a change. A new meeting is appointed for the end of October, to which are invited the bishops of Constance, Coire, and Bâle, the university of the last city, and the twelve cantons of Switzerland. After conferences lasting three days, another edict of the senate abolishes, in the canton of Zurich, the ceremonies and the superstitions of the old worship. They remove from the churches the relics of saints, images, altars, waxlights, holy water; they suppress the mass, auricular confession, exorcisms, extreme unction, monastic vows, the celibacy of the priests.

Zwingli composes several books in support of his reform. He is well seconded by Ecolampadius, parish priest of Bâle, who becomes the first minister of the reformed church in that city. Under their protection, Carlostadt, banished

from the Electorate of Saxony, comes to place himself (1522). All the three are of one mind to reject the real presence. According to Zwingli, there is neither mystery nor miracle in the Eucharist, the words of Christ have a figurative meaning. The bread and the wine are only external signs, symbols intended to recall to Christians the remembrance of the sufferings and death of their Saviour, and that of the advantages which ensue. This doctrine Luther ardently combats. He holds to the real presence the more obstinately because he sees it rejected by Carlostadt, who wished to take precedence of him at Wittenberg, and by Zwingli, who takes credit to himself for having been the first to preach the reform.

The writings of Zwingli and *Œcolampadius* gain credence for their eucharistic interpretation. It rallies to its support Bucer and Capito, who are at the head of the dissenters of Strasburg. The partisans of this opinion are designated by the name of *Sacramentarians*. In imitation of Zurich, the Catholic cantons of Helvetia announce a conference at Baden between the theologians of the two opinions (1526). Eckius and *Œcolampadius* discuss there the eucharist, the sacrifice of the mass, the invocation and the intervention of the virgin and the saints, images, purgatory, original sin, the efficacy of baptism. The assembly, in which the Catholics predominate, naturally pronounces against their adversaries. The doctrine of Zwingli does not make less progress in the canton of Berne. That state in 1527 calls forth a new conference, to which are invited the other cantons and the bishops of Constance, Bâle, Sion, and Lausaune; it is declared that reliance should be put only on the Sacred Scriptures, and that the decision of the assembly shall be law for the canton. The four bishops and the Catholic states attempt in vain to turn Berne from this design. The assembly is held from the 7th to the 26th of January 1528. Bâle, Schaffhausen, Zurich, Appenzell, Saint Gall, Mulhausen, the Grisons, and the imperial cities of Strasburg, Ulm, Augsburg, Linden, Constance, and Isme send deputations thither. No bishop is present. Zwingli is heard, as well as *Œcolampadius*, Bucer, Capito, and

other theologians. The articles of the Reformation are adopted. The magistrates of Berne and those of some other cities, forbid application to the bishops in future; they abolish mass and all the practices and ceremonies of the Roman worship. The city of Constance imitates them. The Bernese engrave in letters of gold on a column the day and the year of the abolition of papism in their canton.

The Landgrave of Hesse desired to unite the Lutherans and the Zwinglians into a sole church body. He attached little importance to the points of disagreement, and felt the need of uniting their forces in order to withstand the attacks of the Catholics. He brings them to confer together at Marburg (1529). There are found Luther, Melanchthon, and Osiander on one side, and Zwingli, Ecolampadius, and Bucer on the other. The discussion turns principally on the real presence. But Luther obstinately persists in his ideas. No conciliation takes place. They agree merely not to write the one against the other, and to manifest mutual toleration. Zwingli and Luther, in rejecting the idolatry and the superstitions introduced into the Church as a sequel of the pagano-Christian fusion and during the middle ages, had nevertheless dealt no blow on the dogmas received in the four first centuries. They held to the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, and specially to that of Augustin, who was more known to them than the others. But in the midst of all these discussions and in the shock of ideas and interests, it was difficult for the spirit of inquiry to stop at a fixed point without ever going beyond. Accordingly, in the earliest days of the Reformation you see another sect appear, that of the Anabaptists, which soon spreads widely, and even threatens to compromise the cause of reform. Efforts have been made to connect these sectaries with the dissidents of anterior ages—the Albigenses, the Vaudois, the Hussites, some remains of whom still subsisted in Germany, Switzerland, and Bohemia. It is more likely that their doctrines flow from principles of the Reformation pushed to their extreme consequences, from illusions of the brain excited by reading the Bible, or

other analogous causes. It is certainly a fact that at this time Anabaptists showed themselves in all places where the Protestant Church had foothold. They begin to appear at Wittenberg during Luther's retirement into the castle of Wartburg. Two of his disciples, Storck and Muncer, become their apostles. From the doctrine that faith alone justifies, they infer that baptism is ineffectual when it is received before the age of discretion ; whence the necessity of administering it only in that period, and to re-baptise, when adults, those who received it in infancy. This repetition of baptism gave them the name of Anabaptists or re-baptisers. All agree in regarding as valid only the baptism that is conferred on adults—a reasonable doctrine in itself and agreeable to the practice of the first centuries of the Church ; but to that opinion they join a fanatical enthusiasm, visions, intimate communications with the Holy Spirit ; they abandon the sources of tradition, the Fathers, and the Councils, to obey revelations from on high, and internal inspiration. Carlostadt yields to their ideas ; Melanchthon himself hesitates, when Luther, quitting his retreat, comes to confirm him and bring him to himself. Muncer rises against the Father of the Reformation, whom he accuses of favouring the relaxation of morals ; he declaims against the vices and affects a rigorous life ; he has ecstasies and visions. But the spiritual world does not suffice for him ; he at the same time assails the rich ; he preaches to the multitude the equality of conditions. Are they not all sons of Adam ? In the lifetime of the apostles the believers had nothing of their own. Hence no more taxes, no more magistrates ; let all be free, and all property be held in common. Proscribed in Saxony, Storck and Muncer retire to Zwickau, which becomes their new Zion. It is specially towards villagers that the zeal of Muncer shows its activity. His ecstasies and his illusions seduce the multitude ; he is the prophet of the fields. Having been long oppressed by the tyranny of the nobles and by the exactions of the ecclesiastics, the peasants lend an eager ear to his words. They rise in Suabia, Franconia, the Palatinate, and Alsace. Muncer retires to Mulhausen in

Thuringen, and makes himself master of the popular mind. He appoints a new senate. The altars are destroyed, the images broken in pieces. All property is put in common ; the apostle is charged to distribute it. He exercises supreme authority in the city and addresses to the neighbouring princes threats which soon realise themselves. Storck catechises Suabia and Franconia.

The sect covers Germany with a manifesto in twelve articles (1525). Consulted by the peasants of Suabia, Luther blames their enterprise, and condemns their rebellion against the magistrates ; but he, at the same time, writes to the nobility to reproach them with their intolerable tyranny. Muncer is at the head of an army of forty thousand peasants. He exhorts them to fight for the establishment of the new kingdom of Jesus Christ. The princes march to meet them and put them into confusion with great carnage. Muncer and other chiefs are decapitated ; Storck succeeds in effecting his escape.

Down to this time Anabaptism did not form a regularly organised sect. The griefs of the peasants against their lords had been turned to account, arms had been taken up under the impulse of inspirations and ravishments, without their being initiated in the dogmas of a new religion. The baptism of infants was rejected, but as yet they had not re-baptised anyone. After the defeat of Mulhausen, it was felt necessary to unite the Confederation by a distinguishing sign ; they began to renew the baptism given in infancy. It is specially in Helvetia that the sect acquires a fixed organization under the direction of Mantz and Grebel. Their force is already great at Zurich, although it is obliged to live in the shade. The authorities are severe against these adepts ; they are thrown into prison, exiled, or put to death. The banished take refuge at Zolicon, not far from Zurich ; they there collect their fellow-religionists of the neighbouring lands, and found the universal church. They draw up a creed in fourteen articles, of which this is the substance :

The sect of Anabaptists is the only one that preaches the pure Word of God ; it is forbidden to communicate with any other. Its adherents are the envoys of God ; all those who have inspiration may speak in the churches and pro-

phesy. We proclaim man's free will, the necessity of good works, the practicability of God's commands, the community of property among disciples. The authority of the New Testament is greater than that of the Old. Christians ought not to plead before the tribunals, nor to enrol themselves for war, nor to take oath in lawsuits. The baptism of children is a diabolical work ; that only is valid which is conferred on persons capable to give an account of their faith. The regenerate sin no more ; they preserve their innocence as the blessed in heaven. The soul, after death, remains in a kind of sleep, from which it will be roused by the last trumpet.

Their creed being composed, the Anabaptists take measures for spreading it. They penetrate into the cantons of Bâle, Schaffhausen, into the territory of Saint Gall, and into other places. They everywhere re-baptise, and excite the people to rise against the magistrates. All those who think they are inspired, begin to speak. Pursued in one city they flee to another. Their number multiplies in Switzerland, Germany, the Low Countries. They do not restrict themselves to common rules, and under the pretext of being inspired, they commit detestable deeds. To escape from suppression, they seek refuge in woods, and re-baptise on the borders of fountains. Public authority searches for them everywhere. They are drowned in bands in the lake of Zurich ; Mantz is thrown into it in the beginning of 1527. These fanatics maintain themselves some time at Bâle, but Ecolampadius expels them by disclosing their follies and their seditious maxims ; they fail also in Berne and Strasburg. When the sect grows weak in Switzerland, it makes new progress in Germany. The princes watch its adherents and suppress them. Driven out of Suabia, they re-appear in other provinces. After the battle of Mulhausen, Storck founds in Silesia a church which throws branches into Poland. Obliged to flee, he seeks shelter in Bavaria, and sows there the first germs of an Anabaptism less extravagant, the followers of which will form a republic in Moravia. Storck dies in wretchedness. You find a number of varieties among the Anabaptists. All of them reject the baptism of

infants. On other points there exist diversities. Among others there is the sect of the *Spirituals*, who spread specially among the nobility and the citizens ; the sect of the *Apostolicals*, who profess to imitate the apostles in their conduct and their method of preaching ; that of the *Libertines*, or enfranchised (*libertini*, freed men), who say they are set free by Jesus Christ, from the yoke of the laws and the magistrates. The Anabaptists, spread over many places, form nowhere a community authorised by the public power. To remedy this defect, one of the disciples of Storck, Jacob Hutter, purchases in Moravia a vast territory, in a fertile but uncultivated district. There he gathers together his brethren in order to form a holy nation, which shall be the depository of true religion. According to the doctrine which is ascribed to him, Jesus is a prophet, not a god ; there is no original sin ; baptism is a sign of adherence to the Church, and can be received only during the age of discretion. There is no real presence in the Eucharist. The mass is an invention of the devil, purgatory a reverie, the invocation of the saints an injury done to God. Worship dwells in the heart, without external signs, without images. The community of goods belongs to the essence of Christianity ; personal property is an impiety. The pastors of churches are the sole magistrates of Christians. On these principles the establishment of the Moravian Brethren is founded. Baptism is in it given only to adults. The Lord's Supper is administered twice a-year. People assemble twice a-week in order to hear unprepared sermons. The brethren inhabit the country, and cultivate lands in common. No idlers among them ; all eat their bread with the sweat of their brow. Their nutriment is simple and frugal. The brethren and sisters wear clothes of the same material and the same form ; marriages are assorted according to age. Archimandrites keep watch over the dwellings.

These societies, free from the excesses imputed to other Anabaptists, multiply rapidly. But persecution rages against them. Division arises among the brethren. Luxury introduces itself after the death of Hutter. This sect at last breaks up. Nevertheless there remain some scattered in

the Moravian countries. A great number retire into Transylvania, where they join the Socinians. Other Anabaptists trouble Westphalia. In virtue of a treaty made in 1523, there existed at Munster Catholic churches and Lutheran temples. In its turn Anabaptism settles there. Apostles are sent by John Matthien, baker of Harlem, who says he is God's elect, to found a new Jerusalem. Soon he repairs there himself with one of his associates, the tailor, John Bockholdt, known under the name of John of Leyden. A great number of Anabaptists come together from neighbouring countries, and make themselves masters of Munster. They are besieged by the bishop. Matthien is killed in a sortie. Bockholdt becomes the sole chief, gets himself declared king. He marches with the pomp of sovereignty, declaring himself the prophet of the Lord, king of Zion and Israel. Polygamy is instituted, in imitation of the Hebrews. Bockholdt marries as many as seventeen wives. Munster is the seat of the heavenly Jerusalem, which is to extend to the extremities of the earth. Twenty-six doctors are chosen to announce to the four corners of the world the new reign of the Lord. They proceed to preach in the neighbouring cities, which they enter with frightful cries, and threatening with prompt ruin those who do not repent. Some of them wish to seize Amsterdam and several other cities of Holland; but they are apprehended and perish in a cruel death. Succoured by the States of the Rhine, the bishop of Munster gets possession of the city after an obstinate resistance. The king-prophet and his principal ministers are given up to the most rigorous punishments. An Assembly held at Hamburg issues pitiless edicts against the Anabaptists. Catholics and Protestants are of one mind for their extermination. Everybody holds them in horror. In future the sects which shall, like them, reject the baptism of infants, or follow some of their maxims, will be known only under the name of their several leaders, such as the Mennonites, the Davidians, and others. We must, however, draw attention to the fact that we know nothing of the Anabaptists except from the accounts of their adversaries. Have they always been impartial? Have the follies and crimes imputed to

them never been exaggerated, or has that for which only some were answerable been thrown upon all ? This, however, is certain, namely, that under their punishments they manifested an unshaken constancy and a superhuman courage ; no sect has had martyrs more devoted or more ardent.

While the Anabaptists are suffering persecution on all sides, one who had been a priest in Frisia, Menno Simon (Simoens) comes forward and gives them confidence. He embraces their communion (1536), and during five and twenty years goes from one country to another exercising his ministry, exposed to all kinds of evils and persecutions. He is seen by turn in Frisia, in Groningen, in Holland, in Gueldres, in Brabant, in Westphalia, in the Baltic regions of Germany ; everywhere he makes a prodigious number of proselytes.

He draws up a new platform of doctrine and discipline, in which are reproved attacks on civil government, loose opinion on polygamy and divorce, daily manifestations of the Holy Spirit by miracles, predictions, visions. If he preserves the dogmas of the Anabaptists in the baptism of adults, the reign of a thousand years, the incompatibility of civil magistrates with the Christian character, the illegitimacy of war and oath-taking, the vanity of human science, he takes care to explain and modify those doctrines, so as to bring them near those of the Protestant Churches. His object is to unite the different branches of Anabaptists into one simple society, from which shall be excluded the fanatics and the enemies of civil government. Division soon arises in this association. Some affecting a sordid austerity of morals, wish to carry to an excessive rigour the discipline of excommunication ; others allow themselves the decent pleasures of life. Menno avoids mingling in these discussions. The rigid sect follows the errors of the old Anabaptists ; the moderate approaches rather the other reformed churches. The partisans of the latter are called *Waterlandais*, from the name of the district (Waterland) whose inhabitants had embraced it from the first. The rigid sect, composed for the most part of Flamands, has the name of the *Flamand* sect.

It divides into two groups, the Flamands and the Frisons. A third is formed under the name of *Allemands* (Germans), when the Anabaptists of Germany pass in a mass into the Low Countries. The majority of the members of the three parties unite gradually with the Waterlandais. The rigid Anabaptists who persist are designated under the name of old Flamands ; they are found everywhere in the small communities which live at a distance from the great cities.

The Mennonites published confessions of faith as to the Supreme Being and the manner of worshipping him. That of the Waterlandais is the oldest. But these confessions seem means of defence rather than veritable expositions of the faith which all are bound to hold. The essence of religion always consisted with them in practical piety ; they leave every one to reason in his own way, provided his conduct is free from blame. In worship they stand aloof from the Lutherans more than the Calvinists ; like the latter, they regard the sacraments as signs or symbols. Their discipline resembles that of the Presbyterians.

After long remaining in an uncertain and precarious position the Mennonites at last obtain a tranquil settlement in the United Provinces under the protection of William, prince of Orange, to whom they had furnished in 1572 a considerable sum for the necessities of war. An opposition first shows itself against them in Amsterdam and in Zeland. But before the end of the century it is overcome as much by their good conduct as by the firmness of William and Maurice of Nassau. Their liberty, however, is secured only about the middle of the following century. They are very pacific, good, and industrious people.

Let us return to the churches of Luther and Zwingli. Charles the Fifth had not appeared in Germany since the diet of Worms (1521), being retained in other countries by different circumstances. He had been, so to say, in continual war with François I. In these conflicts Leo X. and Hadrian VI. took part against the king of France. Clement VII. at first remains neutral between the two adversaries. But the defeat of Pavia and the captivity of François rendering the emperor too powerful in Italy, the pope forms a

league with France, England, Switzerland, Venice and Florence (1526). He becomes the first victim of it. Rome is taken, and during several months, sacked without mercy by the imperial troops. Clement VII. remains a prisoner. Charles V. puts on mourning apparel, and has prayers said for the deliverance of the pope. He succeeds in escaping. At last peace is concluded between the emperor, Rome, and France (1529). Free on this side, Charles thinks of going into Germany, whither he is called by religious troubles and the war against the Ottomans. After the death of Mohamed II. (1481), the Moslem power had long ceased to disquiet the Western Christians. Internal revolts prevent Bajazet II. from carrying on wars abroad. Selim I., his second son who took from him his throne and his life (1512) is obliged himself to turn his arms against the Persians and the Mamaluks of Egypt. But Soliman II., successor of Selim (1520), after having made a truce with the Persians and completed the reduction of the Mamaluks, marches against the Christians of Europe. Belgrade is taken in 1521, Rhodes in 1522. The Turks penetrate into Hungary and gain near Bude the celebrated victory of Mohats in which perished King Louis II. with nearly all the Hungarian nobility (1526). Everything along the Danube is put to fire and sword ; Bude is taken and burnt. John Zapolski, Count of Scepus, Voïvode of Transylvania, and Ferdinand of Austria, dispute the crown. The Voïvode, too weak, implores Soliman's aid. The latter subjugates Hungary, invades Austria, and holds Vienna besieged during a month (1529). The emperor, to whom the assistance of the Lutherans is necessary to repel the Sultan, sees nothing better to be done than to grant them the free council for which they ask. For that effect he goes to see the pontiff at Bologne. But Clement VII. will not hear it spoken of at any price ; frightened by the recollection of the Councils of Bâle and Constance, he thinks only of employing violence against the dissidents. Charles then resolves to attempt a reconciliation of the two parties in a general diet.

This diet opens at Augsburg the 20th of June 1530. The Lutherans present to the emperor their profession of

faith drawn up by Melanchthon with the concurrence of Luther. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Marquis of Brandeberg, the Prince of Anhalt and other grandees have subscribed it, with several imperial cities. It is publicly read. It is divided into two parts : the first composed of twenty-one articles, contains Luther's doctrine ; the seven articles of the second condemn the errors and superstitions of the pontifical Church.

The following are the principal points of the first part :

1. We receive the decisions of the first four general councils on the unity of God and the mystery of the Trinity.
2. Original sin consists in concupiscence, and in the lack of the fear of God, and confidence in him.
3. We admit what is said in the Apostles' Creed on the incarnation, the life, the passion, the resurrection, and the ascension of Jesus Christ.
4. Justification is obtained by faith alone, and not by good works.
5. The Holy Spirit is given by the sacraments of the law of grace ; but its operation is reduced to faith.
6. This faith begets good works ; we do them in order to obey God, but they do not serve for justification.
7. The Church consists of only the elect.
8. The Sacraments are efficacious, notwithstanding the unworthiness of those who confer them.
9. Baptism is administered to infants.
10. The true body and the true blood of Jesus Christ are present in the supper, under the species of bread and wine.
11. Absolution is necessary in the sacrament of penance, but not the numbering of sins.
12. You may lose the Holy Spirit after being justified ; sins committed after baptism are not irremissible.
13. Actual faith is necessary in the use of the sacraments.

The other articles contain a prohibition to teach publicly in the church, or to administer the sacraments without a legitimate vocation ; the obligation to keep certain festi-

vals, and to observe the ceremonies ; approbation of marriage and property, as well as a recognition of the public authority ; belief in the resurrection, in the universal judgment, in paradise, in hell, in the eternity of punishments ; it is also declared that free-will is insufficient to obtain salvation ; that God cannot be the cause of sin ; that good works are not completely useless ; that the saints ought not to be invoked, Jesus being the sole mediator, according to sacred Scripture.

The second part of the confession of Augsburg condemns the discipline and usages of the Roman Church. In the first article the necessity of communion in the two species is upheld, and processions of the holy sacrament are forbidden. The second dispenses the priests from celibacy, as well as other persons who have taken the vow. The third consecrates the abolition of the low masses.\* The fourth states that an exact confession of sins is not necessary in the sacrament of penance. The fifth disapproves the distinction of meats, founded on a purely human tradition. The sixth condemns the monastic state, and speaks against a crowd of practices and ceremonies which damage internal and spiritual worship. The seventh, which concerns the ecclesiastical and secular powers, contains a satire on the pope and bishops. The Catholics of the diet compose a refutation of the Lutheran confession and read it in the presence of the emperor. Divers articles of Luther's doctrine are there approved either totally or in part, and others entirely condemned ; the ceremonies and practices of the Roman Church are declared holy and founded on tradition ; only abuses which have crept in are to be reformed. Several conferences are held between seven persons on each side ; on fifteen of the twenty-one articles of the Lutheran doctrine an agreement is come to ; but there is absolute dissidence on the seven articles which relate to the errors and superstitions of the pontifical church. New conferences take place between three deputies only of each party, without any result ensuing. The emperor then, with the consent of the Catholic princes and

\* Low (or little) mass is that which is said without singing, and in which the prayers are solely recited.—*Tr.*

states, draws up a decree which grants to the Protestants a delay of six months to be reunited to the Roman Church ; they are at the same time forbidden to receive any Catholic into their communion, to write or say anything injurious to the Church, as also to trouble the liberty of the Catholics in their states, and to give them disquiet in the exercise of their religion. The emperor finally enters into an engagement to immediately call a general council for the suppression of divers abuses, a council in which the Lutherans shall set forth their complaints. The latter present a defence of their profession of faith in reply to the refutation of the Catholics. Charles V. refuses to receive it, and threatens them with taking other measures if they do not submit to his decree. The Protestants declare that their profession of faith being in agreement with the Word of God, they are in conscience unable to accept the imperial decree. The cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, which follow the sentiments of Zwingli on the Eucharist, submit equally to the Diet of Augsburg their profession of faith, drawn up by Bucer ; it is known under the name of "The Tetrapolitan Confession."

The Swiss themselves judged it proper to send their declaration of faith. According to them, the sacraments do not confer grace, they are solely a sign that it has been received. The body of Jesus Christ is not present in the Supper ; since the ascension he is in heaven, and nowhere else. The sin of Adam is not, to say the truth, a sin in his descendants, but rather a state of malady which inclines them to evil ; the infants who die without baptism are not damned. It is desirable that all the ceremonies of worship should be abolished. The bishops have not the qualities of true ministers of Jesus. Purgatory is as injurious to Christ as it is lucrative for those who invented it. Charles V., convinced that the Protestants would give way only to force, unites with the Catholics against them. He publishes his decree anew, but with more extension, and in more rigorous terms. The Catholics are there maintained in all their rights, and the dissidents required to follow the ancient doctrine of the Church, as well as its discipline and ceremonies.

The Lutherans then thinking of their safety, united at Smalcald and made a defensive league against all aggression ; several important cities take part in it (Jan. 1531). At the same time the emperor got his brother Ferdinand of Austria elected king of the Romans, already king of Hungary and Bohemia. A treaty unites the emperor, his brother, and the princes of the Catholic states of the empire. But the progress of the Sultan reduces Charles V. to come to an agreement with the Protestants. By a convention signed at Nurenberg, the latter promises to furnish aid against the Turks and to acknowledge Ferdinand as king of the Romans ; the emperor puts himself under the obligation on his part to cancel the Edicts of Worms and Augsburg, and to leave the Lutherans the free exercise of their religion, until a fixed rule of faith is established, whether in a free and general council, or in a diet of the empire (Aug. 1532). Then Charles V. marches at the head of a powerful army against Soliman, who retires without delivering battle. The peace of Nurenberg is the first act which consecrated the legal existence of Lutheranism in Germany. Henceforward force will be too weak to beat it down. It is professed by Saxony, Hessen, Brandenburg, and the other provinces of northern Germany, as well as by the duchy of Prussia.

The three kingdoms of Scandinavia had also adhered at an early hour to Luther's reformation. In the year 1521 Christian II. attracts into Denmark Martin Reinard and Carlostadt. His design is to acquire supremacy in the Church, and to despoil the bishops of a usurped authority in the Church and of riches ill acquired. A revolution overthrows his throne in 1523. Frederic, his successor, acts with more prudence and moderation. He allows the Lutheran doctrine to be preached publicly, but without changing the form of government established in the Church. The States, assembled at Oldensee, publish in 1527 an edict which leaves every subject of Denmark to choose between one and the other religion. The majority of the Danes abandon the Roman Church. Christian III. completes the work of reform. The authority of the bishops

is restricted within just bounds. The property fraudulently acquired by the clergy is restored to the legitimate proprietors. Regulations are made on doctrine, discipline, and worship. The estates of the kingdom give in 1539 a solemn sanction to these arrangements. In Sweden Lutheranism was propagated in the earliest days by Olaüs Petri. Gustavus Vasa seconds the enterprise. An assembly of the States held at Westerans pronounces for the new religion. The authority of the pope is abolished and Gustavus declared chief of the Church. Olaüs Petri becomes archbishop of Upsal. The goods of the clergy are restored to the public domain, except what is necessary for the moderate support of the bishops and the pastors. The monasteries are suppressed, marriage is permitted to the priests. Nevertheless they preserve several usages of the Roman Church. The Swedes have bishops, priests, deacons; their liturgy resembles that of the Catholics in more ways than one. The principles of the Reformation ferment also in the other countries of the Latin Communion. We shall see Lutheran or Calvinist churches established in some of them; in others the exclusive dominion of Rome is maintained by the rigour of punishments. While Germany was brought to conclude a religious peace, war burst out in Switzerland between the Catholics and the Protestants. Zwingli, after having made vain efforts to maintain concord, accompanies the army of Zurich, and dies in the defeat which it underwent the 11th October 1531. Other conflicts taking place not less baneful to the Zwinglians, an agreement is concluded by the mediation of the imperial cities. It is agreed that the thirteen cantons shall remain in the religion which they profess, without each other being troubled, and shall renounce the leagues formed with the foreigner in view of the war. Ecolampadius survived Zwingli only six weeks. After their death the Landgrave of Hessen makes a second attempt to unite the Lutherans and Sacramentarians. Bucer undertakes the negociation. He fails in Switzerland where the question of the real presence forms an insurmountable obstacle. But his efforts have more success among the Sacramentarians of Upper

Germany ; they detach themselves from the Helvetic Church to adhere to the confession of Augsburg. However, Charles V. endeavours to obtain from the pope the convocation of a general council. But Clement VII. experiences in this respect an invincible repugnance, fearing that his election should be questioned in consequence of his quality as a bastard. Without absolutely refusing the desire of the emperor, he puts before the council conditions which the Protestant cannot accept. Paul III. (1534-49) seems to manifest better dispositions. He sends nuncios to the princes and proposes to them the city of Mantua. The Protestants, assembled at Smalcald, decline the authority of a council convoked by the pope, and sitting in a city of Italy. Paul insists that the emperor shall reduce them by the way of arms. This prince demands that the council be first decreed. The pontiff convokes it at Mantua for the 23d of May 1537. The Protestants refuse the pope and the bishops as judges of doctrine. Their meeting is presided over by John Frederic, who succeeded to the electorate of Saxony in 1532 ; he is a young prince, full of ardour for the Reformation, and much attached to Luther. He hands to the nuncio the Bull of convocation without having opened it or broken the seal. An unforeseen difficulty moreover opposes the holding of the council. The Duke of Mantua will not grant the use of his city except on conditions which do not suit the Court of Rome. Paul III. adjourns the council, and then appoints it at Vicencia for the month of May 1538. The legates are in that city at the appointed time, but there comes no bishop of France nor of the Emperor's dominions. The pontiff prorogues the assembly until Passover 1539. The Protestant league has strengthened itself by the adherence of several princes, among others Christian III., king of Denmark. Lutheranism propagates itself in Misnia and Thuringia. Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, embraces it in order to please his subjects. A Turkish army which threatens Germany makes the necessity of union felt. In a Diet held at Frankfort (Feb. 1539) a truce of fifteen months is concluded, during which the Protestants are to make themselves better acquainted with the

Catholic doctrine, and all that is done against them in the interval is declared null. This treaty displeases the Court of Rome. The emperor, who is in Spain, refuses to ratify it without clearly enunciating his motives. He causes conferences to be held at Worms and Ratisbonne between the Catholics and the Lutherans ; the only thing agreed on is to refer to the decision of a general council, or, if one is not held, to that of the approaching Diet.

The emperor and the German princes insist that the council shall assemble in Germany. The pope prefers that there should be no council at all ; at least, he requires that it be held in Italy, in order to conduct it after his own manner. He proposes to a diet, which meets at Spires, the cities of Mantua, Plaisance, Bologna, Ferrara, and Trent (1542). The German Catholics accept this last city. The pontiff, who can no longer draw back, calls the council there for the 1st of November. On the appointed day, there are at Trent only the imperial ambassadors, with some bishops of Germany and Italy. (France was then making war on Charles V.) The legates refuse to open the council in the presence of so small a number of bishops. At the end of seven months the pope prorogues it to another time.

There is held at Spires in 1544, a celebrated diet, at which are present all the Catholic or Lutheran electors. The emperor there demands succours against the Turks and the French. To please the Protestants, a decree is issued, which suspends the execution of the edict of Augsburg, with express prohibition to disquiet anyone on account of religion. Until the holding of the Council, it is said, the two parties shall peaceably enjoy the ecclesiastical property for the support of ministers, the establishment of schools, and the assistance of the poor ; the imperial chamber shall reckon among its judges as many Lutherans as Catholics. The Protestants applaud the decree ; their opponents complain of it ; the Nuncio protests. Paul III. writes to the emperor, who replies to him incriminating the Holy See. The same year peace is concluded between France and Charles V. One of the articles of the treaty states that the two parties shall demand of the pope, as soon as possible,

the general Council. Paul III. anticipates their urgency by publishing a Bull, which convokes at Trent this Council (the twentieth of the Latins), for the 15th of March 1545. The legates of the pope are there some days before the time. Then come the ambassadors of the emperor, and those of Ferdinand, king of the Romans. The opening of the Assembly is put off to the 13th of December. In the interval a Diet meets at Worms to take measures against the Turks. The Lutherans demand that before all things there should be established for religion an absolute peace, independent of a council assembled by the pope ; they wish for one in the centre of Germany, under the presidency of the Emperor, or the grand chancellor of the empire. In the impossibility of obtaining anything from them, Charles V. breaks up the diet and appoints another at Ratisbonne for the 4th of May 1546.

The Protestants renew their league at Frankfort.

The elector Palatine, yielding to the desire of the people, establishes Lutheranism in his States ; the example of the Palatine is followed by the Marquis von Baden, and by the Senate of Spires. Luther dies at Eisleben, the place of his birth, 17th Feb. 1546. He is interred at Wittenberg.

The pope excommunicates the Archbishop of Cologne as a promoter of heresy, but Charles V. does not execute the sentence, for fear lest that Archbishop should unite with the Protestants. The Diet appointed to meet at Ratisbonne assembles on the 6th of June, under the presidency of the Emperor. The Lutheran princes appear there only by deputies. The Catholic party adheres to the council of Trent, which it begs the emperor to uphold. The Protestants refuse to recognise its decisions ; they require that the affairs of religion be treated in a legitimate council of all Germany, or in a diet of the empire, or in conferences between theologians. Charles V. levies troops in the design, it is said, of securing internal peace, and to prevent the disturbers of the public repose. The pope undertakes to furnish two thousand five hundred men with subsidies. He publishes a jubilee, and grants the indulgences usual for religious wars. The emperor, on the contrary, seeks to give in Germany a purely political character to the struggle. He

urges on the pontiff that the Council of Trent should occupy itself with reformation, not doctrine. If the dogmas, he said, are established in the absence of the Protestants, they cannot hope that their reasons will be heard. But Paul III. opposes the treating of reformation, which specially threatens the court of Rome ; he sends word to his legates not to hold a session until a new order. The Protestants also levy considerable armaments ; on both sides manifestoes are published. The Prince Palatine interposes without success. The Elector of Brandenburg thinks himself obliged to serve under the emperor in a war in which religion is not at stake, according to that monarch. While the pope fulminates at Rome a Bull against the heretics, Charles V. puts under the ban of the empire, as traitors and rebels, John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hessen ; he transfers the electorate of John Frederick to his cousin Maurice, although the latter is also a Lutheran. The campaign begins. The two armies meet each other several times without any general action. Maurice invades Saxony, the greater part of whose cities he takes in a few days. The emperor sows division among the confederates ; their army separates. The Elector-palatine, the Duke of Wurtenberg, and several cities submit. John Frederick recovers in Saxony all the country which Maurice had seized. The emperor hastens forward, and, after several forced marches, surprises the Saxons, near Muhlberg, on the Elbe (21st April 1547). The elector is beaten, taken, and condemned to death for the crime of rebellion. The entreaties of the Elector of Brandenburg save his life, but with the loss of his electorate. The emperor drags him in his suite wherever he goes. The Landgrave of Hessen is also compelled to submit. He preserves his states, thanks to the intercession of Maurice, his son-in-law, and of the elector of Brandenburg ; but he is arrested, and in 1549 shut up in the citadel of Malines, where he remains until his entire deliverance.

Charles V. comes to the diet of Augsburg with his army (September 1547). He requires that all the states of the empire shall accept the decisions of the Council of Trent on religious questions. Force prevails, but the sub-

mission does not produce the result that the emperor expected. He had reckoned without the pope. The intervention of Paul III. in the war of Germany had been blamed by the Italians. If the emperor is victorious, they said, Italy remains at his feet ; if he is conquered, the Protestants have a pretext for passing the Alps. The pontiff was alarmed at the power of Charles V. He had besides a personal grief against that prince, who refused to ratify the erection of the duchy of Parma and Plaisance for the benefit of Peter Louis Farnese, the pope's son. Accordingly, the Roman troops were recalled before the defeat of the Protestants. To bring the emperor to a compromise, Paul determines to withdraw the council from the city of Trent, under the pretext of a contagious malady. A decree, obtained from the majority of the Fathers, transfers the assembly to Bologna, in the states of the pope. Immediately the legates and the bishops on their part proceed thither. The Spanish prelates, and some other Fathers, remain at Trent ; the French go to Venice. The assembly of Bologna, composed solely of Italian bishops, limit themselves to pronouncing successive prorogations.

The emperor protests at Bologna and Rome against the transference of the council, and insists strongly on its being restored to Trent (January 1548), but the pope will not consent. Then Charles V. thinks of taking other measures for the pacification of Germany. He draws up, by means of three learned theologians, a formulary of faith, which will serve as a rule to the two parties until the decision of the general council. This act, known under the title of the *Interim*, is received in the diet of Augsburg, and approved by the electors. It is published with an imperial declaration which explains its reasons. All the states are invited to follow it for the sake of peace. The *Interim* contains the essential doctrines of the Church of Rome, although softened in the terms. The only concession made to the dissidents is the toleration of the marriage of priests, and the communion under the two species, in the places where it is established. The diet approves also, for the reform of discipline, a regulation prepared by order of the emperor.

The partisans of the court of Rome attack the *Interim* vigorously. The Protestants do not receive it with favour, Bucer refuses to execute it. The ministers of the other principal cities abandon all rather than subscribe to it. Melanchthon is of opinion that it may be received, not as a whole, but in things indifferent, that is, which do not constitute the essence of religion. This decision produces a sort of schism among the Lutherans. But force of arms reduces most part of the recalcitrants. The pope suspends the council, declaring that he will draw up in Rome decrees for the reform of morals and discipline (17th September 1549). He dies shortly after.

Jules III. (1550-55) manifests from the first the intention of restoring the Council of Trent. The emperor, in order to please him, publishes, towards the end of April 1550, a very rigorous edict against the dissidents. The Lutheran princes and states take the opportunity of protesting against the *Interim*, though several of them had accepted it. Charles V. goes from Flanders to open the diet of Augsburg (26th July); he causes himself to be followed by a great number of warriors, in order to impose the law. In the assembly means to punish the rebellion are proposed; also to restore the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to restore the property of the Church. The emperor announces the approaching re-opening of the council at Trent, and promises safety to all comers. Maurice demands that the points already decided in the council shall be examined afresh in the presence of theologians and the Protestant deputies, who shall have consultative and deliberative voices, and that the assembly shall be presided over neither by the pope nor by his legates. The diet refuses to enregister this proposition. Jules III. convokes the council at Trent for the 1st of May 1551. The Protestants prepare the articles of doctrine which they wish to submit to the assembly. On the demand of their deputies, it sends them a safe conduct, but not such as they desire; they complain of a lack of faith. What, they say, can be expected from a council directed by the pope's legates? The absolute domination affected by Charles

V. in the empire, and his persistent rigour in regard to the Landgrave of Hessen, and the Elector John Frederick, create dissatisfaction in all minds. Maurice of Saxony, who feels the need of satisfaction for the detention of his father-in-law, and the spoliation of his cousin, concludes a secret alliance with Henry II., King of France. Acknowledged for the leader by the Elector of Brandenburg, and by other Protestant princes and lords, he soon finds himself at the head of thirty thousand men. The confederates take possession of Augsburg (April 1552). The emperor was at Innspruck with a very small following. He refuses to believe in the combination ; but when it shows its real character, he remains inactive, in the belief that it will break up of itself. But the confederates direct their steps towards the Alps. They attack Innspruck, which Charles V. is compelled to leave in haste. Then come negotiations. A treaty of pacification is concluded at Passau on the 1st of August 1552. The conditions of that act are the dismissal of the confederate troops, the liberation of the Landgrave, the abolition of the *Interim*, the admission of Protestants into the imperial chamber, permission for each to profess his religion until the diet which shall be convened in six months, liberty which shall continue if uniformity of doctrine and worship is not established. Divers circumstances retard the diet until 1555. It finally meets at Augsburg, and there is drawn up the treaty which is called *The Peace of Religion*. It secures to the Lutherans the free exercise of their worship, as well as the possession of the ecclesiastical property of which they had possessed themselves before the treaty of Passau, but in adding that every elector, bishop, or abbot who shall embrace Lutheranism in the future shall abandon the goods attached to his dignity. The Protestants regulate themselves in the affairs of religion ; all the subjects of the empire may choose the church which they judge the best. The Landgrave and the Elector John Frederick recover their liberty. At this same time the Reformation takes a new face in the Helvetic countries. When Bucer had brought back to Lutheranism Strasburg and the parts of Alsace and Suabia which had embraced

the doctrine of Zwingli, the domain of the last was reduced to some cantons of Switzerland, which appeared little anxious to spread on the outside. But Geneva, after throwing off the yoke of the Duke of Savoy, makes an alliance with Berne, and embraces the Reformation, which is preached to it by Farel of Dauphiny. Persecuted by François I., the Protestants of France hasten to take refuge in that city. Among them is John Calvin. Born at Noyon, the year 1509, Calvin, after having studied jurisprudence at Orleans and Bourges, settles in Paris in 1532. His connections with the partisans of the new ideas render him suspected, and, on the point of being arrested, he takes refuge in Saintonge, whence he directs his steps to Geneva, about the end of 1536. He has just published his book of *Christian Institutes*, which gained him great celebrity.

Like the other reformers, he in that book describes the sacred writings as the sole rule of faith, rejecting all tradition which does not come directly from Christ or his first disciples. The doctrines of the Fathers, and the decrees of the council have in his eyes value only as far as they agree with Scripture. Like the Lutherans he admits what is called the Apostles' Creed, the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Word, and most of the decisions of the first oecumenical councils. Baptism and the Supper are the only sacraments which he acknowledges ; he accounts the five others simple ceremonies. Infants that die without baptism are not excluded from heaven. The mass is a profanation and an impiety which annihilates the Supper. Finally, he condemns the pontifical doctrines on penitence, indulgences, purgatory, invocation of saints, the honour paid to images, the primacy of the see of Rome ; he is against a visible head of the church, bishops, priests, festivals, the cross, benediction, external worship. As soon as he had arrived in Geneva, Calvin is appointed preacher and professor of theology by the magistrates and the consistory, with the consent of the people. In 1538 he draws up a formulary of faith and a catechism, to which the magistrates and people swear to conform. Nevertheless, the public favour abandons him for some time. A synod held in Berne having prescribed the use of unleavened

bread in the Supper, the erection of baptismal fonts in the church, and the celebration of festivities, Calvin, who opposes the regulation, is banished from the city of Geneva ; he repairs to Strasburg and founds a church there. But his exile is not of long duration ; recalled in 1541, he receives from the new syndics absolute power for the spiritual government. The church of Calvin differs from that of Zwingli on three principal points ; the form of government, the Supper, and predestination.

Zwingli, giving the civil magistrate entire power in the affairs of religion, established a sort of hierarchy among the ministers of the church, and put at their head a perpetual president with the right of inspection and authority over the whole body. Calvin reduced to a small matter the power of the magistrate in religious concerns. He makes the church an independent body which gives laws to itself, as in the primitive ages ; he causes it to be governed solely by presbyterial assemblies and synods, consisting of laymen as well as ecclesiastics. The civil magistrate is charged only to protect and provide for its external wants. This form of government, called Presbyterian, acknowledges no bishop nor any superior among the ministers ; all are equal in rank and power. In regard to the Supper, Calvin, in order not to create an obstacle to union with the Lutherans, does not speak in so distinct a manner as Zwingli ; he seems to recognise a kind of presence of Christ, but which definitively is only an influence whence the soul draws its spiritual life.

On the absolute decrees, Calvin affirms that God, in predestinating one part of the human race to eternal happiness, and another part to endless torments, had no other motive than his good pleasure, and the exercise of his liberty. The theology of Zwingli has nothing similar. The principal divergences which separate Calvin and Luther belong to the doctrine on the Supper and on the absolute decrees, to certain points of external worship, and to the government of the church.

Luther maintains, as has been said, that in the Supper the body and the blood of Christ exist in the species of

bread and wine. Calvin, without speaking so distinctly as Zwingli, admits only of a virtual presence of Jesus, but not a material presence. The eternal decrees on the salvation and damnation of men are founded, according to the Lutherans, on an antecedent knowledge of the sentiments and conduct of each one, and, according to Calvinism, on the free and independent will of God. The Lutherans regard the external part of worship as of human institution. They reject only what is connected with superstition ; but for all the other ceremonies, they leave each one free to retain what he pleases. There exists in this regard a great variety in their churches. You may meet in these, or in those, images in the temples, certain dresses or ecclesiastical ornaments, private confession, unleavened bread in the Supper, exorcism in baptism, and other things of the same nature. Calvin, on the contrary, judges that there are no ceremonies indifferent ; that all have a tinge of superstition in them, or lead to it ; he preserves none.

In the majority of Lutheran countries, the sovereigns enjoy ecclesiastical supremacy ; the church is governed by consistories which they appoint. A certain number among them have preserved episcopacy, as Sweden, Denmark, and other regions ; the policy of the princes accommodates itself better to this regime, formed on that of the Roman empire. The Presbyterian form observed in Geneva is borrowed from the primitive church, and harmonises perfectly with the spirit of republics. In regard to discipline Calvin established very severe rules. He gives to the church the right to excommunicate scandalous sinners, independently of their punishment by the secular arm. But these statutes are not passed without exciting strong opposition. Their rigour appears intolerable to a certain number of citizens habituated to live according to their fancy in festivities and pleasures. These *Libertins* of Geneva rise in all manner of ways against the reformer, whom they call the bishop of Ascoli, the new pope. Calvin pursues them without pity. Gruet, one of them, is condemned to death by the civil tribunals. This party disappears in 1555, never to return. The theological system of Calvin equally encounters contra-

dictors, especially his opinions on the eternal and absolute decrees. He persecutes his opponents. We may cite in the number Castalio, a public schoolmaster of Geneva, and a man of knowledge and pure character, whom he deprived of his charge and banished from the city (1544); Bolsec, for an attack on the absolute decrees, is thrown into prison and then banished as a Pelagian. But the greatest reproach that can be made on the memory of the Reformer is the punishment of Michael Servetus, whom he caused to be burnt as an anti-trinitarian. The odium, however, ought not to fall solely on Calvin. The other churches of Switzerland approved the crime; and Melanchthon himself congratulated the author upon it. We shall soon see that the Lutherans and the Calvinists were not less ardent to persecute the Socinians, as they had already done in regard to the Anabaptists. Must we believe that recently set free from the papal yoke, the doctors of Wittenberg and Geneva had not entirely thrown off the old man, and kept still in their heart the sentiments of intolerance which they had sucked in on the bosom of their Roman mother? This spirit of persecution which belied the very principle of the Reformation, served more than once for an argument and an excuse for the cruelties which the Roman Catholics have exercised against the Protestants of all countries. In the time of the Reformation Geneva sees flocking into its precincts a crowd of strangers, especially Frenchmen, whom religious rigours compel to leave their country. All attach themselves to the party of Calvin whom they powerfully support against his adversaries. Theodore Beza retires into Switzerland in 1548. During nine years he professes Belles Lettres at Lausanne, and in his vacations goes to Geneva to confer with Calvin, who at length determines him to consecrate himself to the service of the Reformation. When he sees all hope of union with the Lutheran Church vanish, Calvin turns toward the disciples of Zwingli, and accedes to their opinion on the eucharist: the two churches consummate their union (1549-1554).

The Reformer remains all his life at the head of the Church of Geneva; he presides at their synods, the consistory, the

ecclesiastical tribunal. But after his death, the place of president ceases to be perpetual. Owing to Calvin's efforts, his doctrine spreads into the other countries of Europe. Geneva becomes the mother of the Calvinist Churches, as Wittenberg was of the Lutherans. Ministers are sent as missionaries into distant countries. Calvin attracts to Geneva distinguished persons from Italy and France, and founds in that city a college which becomes very celebrated. Crowds of young men flock thither from England, Scotland, France, Italy, and Germany ; their studies completed, they return to spread at home the doctrines and impulses of the Reformation.

At Calvin's death (1564) his church is already founded, his institutions survive him. The academy of Geneva flourishes even more under Beza than under himself.

The doctrines of Luther had at an early day penetrated into the kingdom of France. As early as 1523 a person named John Leclerc is whipped and banished for having said in preaching at Meaux, that the pope is antichrist. The same year, a decree of the Parliament of Paris orders that Luther's books shall be burnt in the square of Notre Dame, and enjoins their being brought to the registry on pain of confiscation of goods and banishment. Nevertheless the court does not appear yet preoccupied with these sectaries. It stands in the way of the zeal of the parliament, the bishops, and the faculty of theology, in calling before the council the cause of divers individuals who were accused of spreading the new doctrines. The sister of François I., Margaret of Navarre, supports the movement of the Reformation. A certain number of the higher nobility entertain the same views ; the scholars and the men of letters give into it with much ardour.

At first the king hesitates as to the resolution he shall take. He is solicited by the example of Henry VIII. In declaring himself for the new religion he will draw into it all France, and become the head of the Protestants of all the countries whom he might oppose to the Catholics of Charles V. But his projects on Italy oblige François I. to keep on good terms with the pope. He also fears the effect

on his absolute power of the spirit of liberty of the Reformation and especially the democratic tendencies of the Church of Geneva. The instinct of despotism wins the day. He publishes very rigorous edicts against those who spread or hold Protestant opinions. This prince is a fervent persecutor, when he has need of the pope for his foolish enterprises in Italy ; he goes so far as to declare that if his right arm was infected with heresy, he would cut it off, and that he would not spare even his own children if they were heretical. But his acts of violence are not continuous ; when he is led by policy to wish for the support of the Protestants of Germany, he treats those of France with less barbarity. Now tolerated, now persecuted, the Reformation gains ground from day to day. Its progress becomes more rapid after the settlement of Calvin in Geneva ; Calvinism, to say the truth, is the French Protestantism. Terrible laws are then passed against the innovators (1542). Blazing faggots devour a crowd of victims. Thousands of dissidents escape into foreign countries. The parliament condemns to the fire a large number of Protestant books, among others Calvin's *Christian Institutes* (1543). None the less is the Reformation embraced by numerous disciples. Their meetings are held by night. A sort of Church is constituted in Paris about 1545 ; rules are adopted, a consistory established ; order and safety are as far as possible secured ; those who are discovered perish in torments. A relic of the ancient Vaudois, embedded in the mountains of Provence, occupied Cabrières, Merindol, and some neighbouring villages. The 18th November 1540, the Parliament of Aix publishes against those inoffensive people a solemn decree which orders the destruction of their houses, castles and forts, and condemns to the flames a certain number of the principal inhabitants. The effect of this sentence is suspended for some years. But at last the president Oppède carries it into execution in 1545, in agreement with the General Advocate Guerin. Four thousand Vaudois are pitilessly massacred or burnt, without distinction of age or sex ; the flames consume twenty-two villages or towns. The rest of the population perish miserably in the woods or on

the mountains. Brought for that deed before the Parliament of Paris, Oppede pleads the king's orders, ill or well interpreted ; he is acquitted.

Under Henry II. the persecution is not discontinued ; like his father he fears the spirit of independence with which the Reformation is animated. Although he is leagued with the Protestants of Germany, that prince, in setting out for the army, none the less recommends to the parliament the suppression of heresy in France. A great number of Protestants are burned in 1553. The war terminated, Henry II. rages with more fierceness still, impelled by the Guises, by the parliament, and by the duchess de Valentinois, who profits by the confiscations (1559). An edict published at Chateaubriant pronounced the penalty of death against obstinate heretics (1551). Some members of the parliament endeavouring to hinder its execution, the king himself stimulates the zeal of the company and sends to the Bastille Anne Dubourg and other counsellors ; their trial is carried into effect notwithstanding the intervention of the Protestants of Germany. During the reign of François II. the Guises, uncles of the queen, establish in each parliament a special chamber for crimes relating to religion ; it is called *the Burning Chamber*, because it always condemns to the flames. Anne Dubourg is hanged and burned. The other counsellors undergo different punishments.

Four chambers are instituted in the Parliament of Paris to try such as are suspected in matters of faith. In this class those are condemned who are suspected of being favourable to the dissidents. The Calvinists being furious, organise the conspiracy of Amboise. La Renaudie is their nominal leader ; the undertaking is directed secretly by the prince of Condé. The conspirators ask the king to put an end to the persecutions of the reformers, and to exclude from the government the women (the two queens) and the foreigners (the Guises). An indiscretion on the part of Renaudie caused the enterprise to be discovered. In order to calm the public mind, an edict forbids that any one should be prosecuted on account of religion, except the preachers and

the fabricators of conspiracy. The Guises take the measures required by the circumstances. Renaudie was killed near Amboise as well as many other conspirators. Those who do not perish in the combat pass through the hands of the executioner. The parliament confers on the Duke of Guise the title of saviour of his country. A royal declaration interdicts all assemblies of Calvinists, under any pretext. Coligny and his two brothers retire into Normandy, of which the admiral is the governor ; he causes the new religion to be preached in the maritime cities, and endeavours to establish it even at Rouen. The prince of Condé repairs to the king of Navarre, his brother, governor of la Guyenne. Jeanne d'Albret, wife of the king of Navarre, ardently seconds Calvinism in that region and in her own states. At the same time, it spreads in Dauphiny, in Provence, and in other French provinces. The cardinal de Lorraine thinks of establishing the Inquisition, which Paul IV. and Philip II. had just restored in Italy and in Spain ; but the bishops and the parliament repel this rival jurisdiction. An edict passed at Remorantin banishes the reformed ministers and prohibits religious meetings out of the Catholic Churches ; it assigns the cognisance of every crime of heresy to the ecclesiastical judges, who can pronounce only excommunication against the obstinate, and condemn the weak to alms or prayers ; as to those who, under pretext of religion, take arms and rise, the edict hands them over to the secular judges, as guilty of treason (May 1560). The Calvinists call this edict the Spanish Inquisition ; it remains without effect.

The government, with a conciliatory view, proposes to convene a national council. The States-General are convoked to prepare the way. Till then it is forbidden to trouble any one on account of religion. This project of a national council induces the pope to re-establish the Council of Trent. The states of the kingdom assemble at Orleans, whither repair the king and the queen ; on their invitation, the king of Navarre and the prince de Condé go thither. They are arrested. The prince of Condé is condemned to lose his head. The death of François II. saves

his life (5th Dec. 1560). Catherine de Medici is reconciled with the king of Navarre, and afterwards with the prince of Condé. The States-General are held under the presidency of Charles IX. and the queen-mother. It is then resolved to send prelates to the council which is about to be reopened at Trent, to restore liberty and property to the Protestants which are in prison, thus amnestying the past, except in the case of the heads of the conspiracy of Amboise. The government of Catherine seems inclined to the new religion. The constable de Montmorency, the duke de Guise, and the marshall de St André then form a kind of triumvirate against the Protestants.

Religious divisions augment daily in the provinces. A sedition breaks out at Beauvais against the cardinal de Chatillon, bishop of the city and a Calvinist. He is deposed by the pope ; but the parliament declares the sentence illegal. The cardinal maintains himself still several years in his jurisdiction. In July 1561, there appears an edict, which, renewing that of Remorantin, restores to the clergy the cognizance of the crime of heresy, of which the penalty is reduced to banishment, with amnesty for the past ; the regulation to subsist until the decision of a general or national council. In the hope of meeting the difficulties, a colloquy is opened on the 4th September at Poissy between the theologians of the two churches. At first there are present on the side of the Catholics only six French cardinals with four bishops ; the number of prelates increases afterwards to as many as forty. Many learned doctors come thither, as well as the cardinal d'Est, the pope's legate. Twelve or thirteen reformed ministers are present, with twenty-two deputies of their churches ; Calvin remains at Geneva. The young king is present at the first conference with all his court. Theodore de Beza sets forth the articles of doctrine on which the two churches agree, and those which divide them. The cardinal de Lorraine, in his reply, treats of the authority of the Church and of the eucharist. A second conference takes place the 24th of the same month. The Calvinists present a profession of faith in the name of all their churches. The prelates present in opposition a declaration of the Catholic

faith on the eucharist. The assembly breaks up without any conciliatory result ; but the Protestants regard it as a triumph to have been admitted to discuss publicly against the Roman clergy.

In Great Britain the introduction of the Reformation underwent divers phases. At the time of the appearance of Luther, the throne was occupied by Henry VIII., who united in his person the rights of the two houses of York and Lancaster. This prince, very hostile to the new doctrines, composes a controversial treatise against them (1521), and publishes rigorous edicts to preserve his kingdom from their influence. The title of "Defender of the Faith" was conferred on him by a Bull from Leo X. But in the first year of his reign the King of England had married Catharine of Aragon, widow of his elder brother, and aunt of Charles V. ; she was ten years older than he. After being married eighteen years, that princess was an old woman. Henry, in the strength of age, and in the ardour of the passions, is smitten by Anne Boleyn, and consequently experiences scruples as to his marriage with his sister-in-law. The affair is carried to Rome (1527). Clement VII., then a prisoner of the imperialists, finds means to protract the matter. Become free, he commits the decision of the process to the Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio, his legates in England. Catharine refuses to enter into a compromise. The king is urgent with the pope (1528). Clement, placed between the danger of losing England, and the fear of annoying the emperor, all powerful in Italy, avoids giving a decision. The matter is pursued before his legates, and Catharine is condemned as contumacious. But the emperor gets the affair removed to Rome (1529). A new embassy from England goes thither, accompanied by several doctors. Cranmer, one of them, writes a book in favour of the divorce. The demand is supported by the King of France and the English noblemen. Despite their efforts, Clement VII., at the solicitation of the emperor, issues a brief which forbids Henry to contract a second marriage before the question of divorce has been decided ; another brief prohibits all prelates and all

judges to take cognisance of the cause. None the less does Henry espouse Anne Boleyn. Briefs in great number exhort him to leave her ; if he will not, he is summoned to Rome with her to answer for their scandalous life. The prince replies by a letter full of irony. Cranmer had just been enthroned Archbishop of Canterbury (1533). One of his first acts is to cite Henry and Catharine to appear before him on account of their incestuous marriage. The king appears by deputy ; Catharine keeps away. Cranmer declares their union null from the first, as being contrary to the divine law. He then approves of the secret marriage of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn. At the end of some months, the new queen gives birth to Elizabeth. A Bull from the pope annulling the archbishop's sentence, declares the king excommunicated, unless he places the affair in its anterior state, and dismisses Anne Boleyn. In vain does France seek to accommodate the matter. The emperor's ministers redouble their urgency. At last, Clement VII. pronounces a sentence which annuls all Henry's proceedings, and enjoins on him to take back Catharine of Aragon.

The King of England no longer hesitates. An Act of Parliament abolishes the pope's power in the kingdom, but without touching Catholic doctrine. The annates, Peter's pence, the despatch of bulls, and dispensations from Rome, are suppressed. It is decided that the bishops shall be elected by chapters, and consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, without recourse to the pope. The marriage of the king with Catharine is annulled. That with Anne Boleyn is declared legitimate ; the succession to the throne is settled upon the children which may be born hence. All the king's subjects are constrained to take an oath of obedience to these regulations. Bishop Fischer and Ex-Chancellor Thomas More suffer capital punishment for refusing their acquiescence. The death of Clement produces no modification in the acts taken against the Court of Rome. The parliament confers on the king the quality of Supreme Sovereign of the Church of England, and adjudges to him the tithes and the annates. A royal declaration

forbids giving to the Bishop of Rome the name of Pope (1535). A visit made to the monasteries proves that they are houses of debauchery and asylums for forgers. They are suppressed ; their property falls to the crown. As head of the Church, the king frees from their vows the monks who had pledged themselves before the age of twenty-four, and permits others to live as seculars. Some troubles break out in the northern districts, but they are forthwith put down. None the less are very rigorous punishments published against the Protestants. The Catholic religion is maintained. The missals and the breviaries are preserved almost entire ; solely some collects for the pope are removed, also the service for Thomas of Canterbury, whose name is struck out of the catalogue of saints of the English Church. The secular clergy preserves its benefices and its property.

Paul III. excommunicates Henry VIII., transfers his kingdom to the first occupant, and interdicts all commerce with the English.

Notwithstanding the king's opposition, the Lutheran doctrines had not failed to spread in England. Anne Boleyn leaned towards them, Cranmer favoured them secretly ; Catharine Parr, the sixth spouse of Henry VIII., was of the same mind.

On the death of that prince (29th June 1547) the crown of England passes to Henry's son, Edward, aged seven years, whose maternal uncle, Edward Herford, is in favour of Zwingli's opinions. Created duke of Somerset, protector of the king and the kingdom, Herford exercises sovereign power under the name of his nephew. He is soon of one mind with Cranmer to introduce the Reformation. Like his father, the young king becomes supreme head of the Anglican Church. Changes are introduced in virtue of the royal authority, and of acts of parliament. The people support the intentions of the Court ; the images are beaten down in divers places. Cranmer and several bishops support the new doctrines ; the other prelates make no opposition. The preceptors of the king are zealous partisans of the Reformation. Visitors are sent to establish it in all the provinces. Parliament appoints the communion under the

two species and permits the marriage of priests. The Acts published by Henry VIII. in favour of the Catholic worship are abrogated. The doctrine of Zwingli becomes dominant. Peter Martyr and Bernard Ochin draw up a formula against the real or corporeal presence. What is retained of the old worship undergoes alterations ; confirmation is reduced to a simple catechism, without oil : extreme unction is no longer anything but the unction of the forehead and the stomach, yet several ceremonies are preserved—sacerdotal garments, the sign of the cross, exorcisms, festivals of the saints, abstinence and Lent ; the civil power reserves to itself to provide the cost of fasts and abstinence. The offices are celebrated in the vulgar tongue.

The fall of the duke of Somerset does not interrupt the course of the Reformation. The day after his death, a vote of the parliament authorizes the new Liturgy (23d June 1552). The assembly of the clergy approves a profession of faith in forty-two articles, drawn up the preceding year. This new symbol will undergo various corrections. The death of Edward VI. changes the state of things (16th July 1553). Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon, is proclaimed Queen of England and head of the Church ; she prepares the way for the restoration of the Roman worship. A royal edict commands the public prayers to be put into Latin, and forbids ecclesiastical functions to married priests. Cardinal Polus (Pool) arrives in London as legate of the pope Jules III. (23d Nov. 1554). He settles the return to the Roman Church. Absolution is given in the parliament in presence of the queen and Philip of Spain, her husband. Parliament abolishes the laws contrary to the authority of the pope. New laws contrary to the dissidents are promulgated ; executed with much rigour, they make a number of victims. The Reformers leave their native land by thousands. Cranmer is burnt alive (21st March 1556), the same day Pool is consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. But the triumph of the Catholics is not of long duration. Mary dies the 17th November 1558. Cardinal Pool survives her only sixteen hours.

Elizabeth, proclaimed by Parliament, notifies to the pope

the decease of Mary and her own ascent to the throne. Paul IV. refuses to recognise her ; he accounts her illegitimate in virtue of the declarations of Clement VII. and Paul III., and asserts that England being a fief of the Holy See, Elizabeth ought not to have anticipated his consent. On this reply, the queen recalls her ambassador. She causes a conference, which did not last less than a month, to be held between the Catholics and the Protestants. An Act of Parliament abolishes the edicts of Queen Mary in favour of the Catholic religion, re-establishes those of Edward VI., confers on Elizabeth the title of head of the Anglican Church, and forbids all intercourse with the Court of Rome. The ecclesiastics are constrained to acknowledge by oath the supreme authority of the queen, both in spiritual and in temporal matters, under pain of deprivation of their benefices, and, if they persist, perpetual imprisonment. Elizabeth takes possession of the revenues of the churches, assigns to Parliament the cognizance of doctrine, and introduces the new liturgy in the vernacular. The confession of the Church of England, approved by the Council of London (1562) consists of thirty-nine articles. This church approaches Calvinism as to doctrine ; but it maintains episcopacy with its revenues and its political prerogatives, and, after the manner of the Lutherans, retains several ceremonies and usages, the reception of the eucharist on the knees, fasts, the celebration of festivals, altars and the cross. Images disappear. Fourteen bishops and about one hundred ecclesiastics refuse to subscribe to the reforms ; the former are deposed, the latter banished. The benefices are given to the Calvinists and the Lutherans. The exercise of the Roman religion is interdicted. Under the reign of Mary, a multitude of Protestants had sought safety in foreign countries. During their exile, some had preserved in the divine service the rites consecrated by Edward VI. ; while others preferred those of Geneva, more simple and free from all superstition. The former were called *Conformists*, the latter received the name of *Nonconformists* or *Puritans*. Returning into England under Elizabeth, their divisions become more marked and influential. The Queen shows herself hostile to the Puri-

tanic ideas. After drawing up her plan of Reformation, she publishes *The Act of Uniformity*, which requires every one to follow its regulations. The Puritans refuse, complaining that they are renewing the superstitions of the papacy. The most ardent among these demand the abolition of the new constitution ; they rise in condemnation of the episcopal government and against the Roman rites and usages which are retained. Some limit themselves to claiming liberty of conscience ; others would consent even to receive, as in Scotland, bishops or superintendents which should possess neither considerable revenues nor rank in the civil order. Elizabeth listens neither to the one nor to the other, and, ill disposed against the whole of the sect, which she characterises as turbulent, she abandons it to the vexations of the Episcopalian. The laws condemn to prison those of the Puritans who trouble the Anglican Church, for example, by making proselytes. Near the end of her reign all her subjects are even obliged to profess Anglicanism under pain of deportation. The Puritans do not multiply with less rapidity. The rites and usages of worship are not the sole point of disagreement between them and the Anglicans. The latter admit, as rule of faith, besides the sacred Scripture, the decisions of the ancient Fathers. They mould themselves as to the form of church government on the first four or five centuries ; the Puritans, on the contrary, recognise only the authority of the sacred books, and frame their government according to the primitive church. The Anglicans reserve to the royal power the right to correct the errors and the abuses introduced into the doctrine, discipline, and worship, the Puritans ascribe this right to the ecclesiastical power. Ceremonies, clerical vestments, festivals, and other objects of that nature, are, in the eyes of the Anglicans, things indifferent, which the civil magistrate may regulate ; the Puritans do not consider as such rites borrowed from idolatry and from the papal superstition ; they add that even in things indifferent, there is tyranny in controlling the liberty of the disciples. The Anglicans hold the Church of Rome for a true Church, although it is in error in divers points of doctrine or discipline ; the pope, though

not the head of the universal Church, is not in their eyes less than a true bishop, and it is by this means that they profess to establish that their episcopal dignity comes from the Apostles, in uninterrupted succession. For the Puritans, the Church of Rome, with its political hierarchy and its spiritual tyranny, has lost the character of a true church ; its worship and its discipline are only idolatry or superstition ; the pope is antichrist. There exist several sects among the Puritans. The most celebrated was formed by Robert Brown (1581) ; it is distinguished from others by its organisation. Among the *Brownists* the body of the disciples is divided into small assemblies, as in the times of the apostles. These societies, *independent by divine right*, acknowledge the authority of neither bishops nor synods ; they govern themselves by the majority of voices of all the members. A certain number of persons are elected for the functions of worship. These have no superiority over the others, and are solely charged with preaching in the assembly and praying in its name. When their discourse is finished, every member of the society who thinks himself able to instruct others may speak and *prophecy*. In a word they imitate the church of the earliest days as instituted by the apostles. The ardent zeal of the Brownists against Anglicanism exposes them to ceaseless persecutions. They are at last reduced to retire into the Low Countries, where they found churches of ephemeral duration. Robert Brown returning home, goes over to the Anglicans in order to obtain a benefice. The Puritans, whom he has left in exile, become disunited and see their affairs decline day after day. The wisest moderate the severity of the primitive plan. From them proceeds the community of the Independents or Congregationalists, of whom we shall have to speak hereafter. The Church of Ireland underwent the same vicissitudes as that of England under Henry VIII. George Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, attempts to sustain the supremacy of the king. Reform makes progress under Edward VI. to disappear during the reign of Mary. The Irish, not willing to defer to the prescriptions of Elizabeth, form the resolution of withdrawing its obedience. Troops are sent to subdue

the rebels, and ministers to establish the new religion. In some provinces they succeed ; but others support more vigorously their worship and their liberty.

Scotland had, from the first, received the seeds of the Reformation. But the Catholic Church maintained itself in the earliest days by the rigours of James V. On the death of that prince, the crown passes to his daughter Mary, who is just born (1542). The regency is exercised by Mary of Lorraine, mother of that princess. Some years later, the young queen, destined for the dauphin of France, is conducted into that kingdom, where her mother herself soon seeks a refuge. Scotland is then governed by a viceroy. A disciple of Calvin, John Knox, brings into his country the religion of Geneva (1551) ; it is established in a short time. However, Knox substitutes for bishops superintendents charged with watching over the morals and the discipline of the clergy, and presiding in the inferior tribunals of the church, but without having either the political rank or the revenues of the ancient episcopate. This institution grows feeble in time, and at last falls entirely in 1688. Scotland has always maintained the doctrine, the worship, and the discipline of Calvin, despite the attempts made on different occasions to introduce the government and the rites of the Anglican Church. We have seen that the general council, recalled by Jules III., sat at Trent at the time when the Protestants took up arms against the emperor, under the leadership of Maurice of Saxony (1552). At the approach of the troops, great is the alarm among the Fathers. The pope, seizing the opportunity, suspends the council until the restoration of peace and of public safety. Every one retires ; and the suspension is prolonged for ten years. During this interval divers events succeed each other in the court of Rome and in Italy. Jules III. unites with Charles V. to make war on Henry II. All Italy is on fire. The King of France is excommunicated by the pope, and his kingdom placed under an interdict ; the prince replies by reprisals. The fear of seeing France escape from him, as England from Clement VII., finally determines the pontiff to negotiate a peace between the two

adversaries. Marcellus II. occupies the pontifical seat only some days. Paul IV. is elected when he was nearly eighty years of age. He was a severe man, and ready to have recourse to means of violence. In his first year he declares war on the emperor ; the Duke of Alba ravages Italy, and forces the pontiff to conclude a peace. We have reported the conduct of this pope in regard to Queen Elizabeth. The Emperor Ferdinand does not find him better disposed ; Paul IV. refuses to receive the envoy who comes to announce to him the election of the prince ; he pronounces the election null for lack of the intervention of the Roman Church. Ferdinand then gives up the journey to Italy to receive the imperial crown ; all his successors imitate him. Paul IV. refuses all convocation of the Council of Trent. The pope and the cardinals, he says, are more fit to direct the church than those assemblies of bishops and theologians. In the year 1556 he establishes at Rome a committee to prepare for the reform of the clergy. He passes for having instituted the congregation of the *Index*; very severe punishments are fixed by him against those who possess the books which it indicates. The tribunal of the Inquisition, reorganised under Paul III. (1542) sees its power grow. Independently of heresy, Paul IV. assigns to it the cognizance of divers other crimes ; he excites it to rigorously prosecute the persons whose faith appears suspicious. The best remedy against heresy, said this pope, is to execute all the heretics.

On his death the people set fire to the prison of the Inquisition, and deliver the prisoners. His statue is dashed to pieces, his body is interred without display in the Church of the Vatican.

Pius IV. (1559-65) acknowledges the Emperor Ferdinand, and annuls what had made his predecessor detested. However, the court of Rome persists in its aversion in regard to the council. But prince and people imagine that a council is the sole remedy for the religious troubles ; the emperor threatens to recur to conferences. The French speak of a national council ; Pius IV. resigns himself to the task of convoking the Council of Trent afresh (November

1560). The legates arrive in the month of April 1561, the bishops and other prelates in the course of the same year ; the assembly opens in January 1562. Let us cast a look on the acts of this council in its three successive convocations. We know with what repugnance Rome was led to make them. It had always before its mind the acts of the councils of Constance and Bâle, which deposed popes, created new ones, and proclaimed the authority of councils as superior to that of the Holy See. But the times were no longer the same. At the time of the first meeting of the Council of Trent, England, the half of Germany, the two-thirds of Switzerland, and all the Scandinavian States, were separated from the pontifical church. France, after twenty-five years of struggle, concluded with Charles V. a treaty which did not put an end to all resentments. The emperor, at war with the Lutherans, was not in a condition to take the direction of the assembly in hand. The pope soon becomes the absolute master.

At the first session twenty-five bishops are present. At the second forty-three persons are there, comprising the two legates. During the two first convocations, under Paul III. and his successor, the number of the Fathers does not go beyond fifty or sixty. Most are Italian bishops, devoted to the Holy See, and some of them its pensioners. The assembly is more numerous in the third convocation, but the Italian bishops and prelates still form the majority ; Philip II. restrains the Spanish bishops in their spirit of opposition. Thus the legates have full latitude for conducting the deliberations according to the views of the court of Rome. It is they who propose the matters to be discussed ; nothing is treated of but what has been referred to the Holy See ; no decision is taken contrary to the pope's will ; a fact which declares that the Holy Spirit arrives at Rome in the carpet-bag of a courier. Despite this luxury of precautions, some circumstances leave it to be feared that things do not go on according to the pontiff's desire, but he has the resource of pressing on or adjourning the sessions ; he could even, if necessary, transfer the assembly, or suspend it indefinitely. Accordingly, this council, of which Rome was at

first so much afraid, ended by consolidating its power in Catholic countries. The bishops, far from recovering their first authority, are merely delegates or vicars of the pope. But, on the other hand, the Roman pontiffs, the moiety of the nations, renounce for ever their domination, and the Christian West divides into two churches, founded on irreconcileable principles, one absolute power, the other liberty.

In the first session of the council the question arises as to how the suffrages shall be taken. At Constance and at Bâle the vote depended on the plurality, not of persons, but of nations. At Trent, according to the pope's instructions, they voted by head. The majority is thus gained for the Italian bishops, who are the more numerous, and the council is under the direction of the Roman court. The bishops of France demand that to the title of the council should be added the words, *representing the universal Church*; whence one could deduce the pre-eminence of the council over the pope. This proposal called forth strong approbation. But the legates, after having at first eluded and combatted it, distinctly refuse to admit it; and their will is law notwithstanding some persistent protests. The council is entirely mastered by the legates that preside. The letters which they write are drawn up in their name; they scold the bishops, and in everything assert the omnipotence of the Roman court.

Two principal objects were to occupy the assembly, the confirmation of the dogmas attacked by the dissidents, and the reformation of the church, including laics and clerics. At first the emperor insisted that nothing as to doctrine should be decided before the arrival of the Protestants, and that they should begin with reforming the abuses which lowered the church in the mind of the populations. But the court of Rome, adverse to all reform, pressed, on the contrary, the sanction of dogmas, so as to leave to the Protestants the sole alternative of submission or death. In this conflict it is agreed, as a middle term, to treat simultaneously of faith and reform.

The assembly, for the definition of the faith, follows the order adopted in the confession of Augsburg, which it

undertakes to confute, point after point. All that has undergone the attacks of the innovators is put in the rank of Catholic dogmas. The modern Church of Rome was founded by the Council of Trent, and perfected by the Jesuits. We must limit ourselves to a statement of some of the decisions of the council.

As sources of truth they indicate, besides the sacred Scripture, the *traditions* which they assert come from the apostles, and have been transmitted from mouth to mouth in the course of generations. They comprise in the canon of Scripture not only the books admitted by the Israelites, but also several others which till then had been considered apocryphal or uncertain. The Latin translation, known under the name of Vulgate, is accepted as authentic, although, with the admission even of Fathers, it needs corrections.

A spirited dispute arises between the Dominicans and the Franciscans in regard to original sin. The latter wish to exempt the Virgin Mary ; the others oppose it ; the question remains undecided. They acknowledge seven sacraments, which are declared to have been instituted by Christ ; they have the power and the virtue to confer grace ; a minister in a state of mortal sin may administer them.

Baptism given in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, even by heretics, is held valid.

In regard to the eucharist, it is decided that communion under the two species is not of divine authority. The Church has had, they allege, just causes for reserving to the official alone the communion of the cup, and Christ is received entirely in each species. Nevertheless, they leave to the pope the care of authorising, according to circumstances, the use of the cup for laymen. In regard to the Sacrament of Order, they examine whether the institution of bishops is of divine right. According to the prelates, it is of the same title as that of the pope ; but Lainez, general of the Jesuits, maintains the opposite opinion ; according to him, the pope alone is of divine right ; all the hierarchy concentrates itself in his person ; from him emanates the

power of the bishops. The pontiff is consulted on the question ; he replies that the sole power of Order comes from Jesus Christ, while that of jurisdiction is derived from the pope, so that thus you cannot absolutely affirm that the institution of bishops is of right divine. The conjugal bond is pronounced indissoluble, even on account of adultery, contrarily to the opinion of Ambrosius and the majority of the Greek Fathers. They solely allow in certain cases a bodily separation for a time, determinate or not. Celibacy is declared preferable to marriage. Matrimonial causes are reserved for the ecclesiastical judge. On points of doctrine there could not be serious differences in this council, in which only Roman Catholics appeared. It was not the same with reform of morals. Men's minds were singularly divided in this respect.

According to the princes and the bishops, reform of morals, to be serious, ought to commence with the Court of Rome ; it is the principle and the source of the majority of abuses. But the Holy See will in no way submit to corrections from the council. The popes reserve for themselves to make those which are necessary in their Court. This opposition leaves to the assembly only the office of establishing rules for the episcopate and the secondary clergy. The bishops of the Council have indeed the desire to recover all the rights of which they had been dispossessed by the Court of Rome ; but that Court intends to restore to them only the least possible.

The exemptions granted to the monks and nuns were one of the principal griefs of the bishops. It is remembered that the popes, in order to create for themselves supports in all the provinces, had taken the regulars from the Episcopal power by means of exemptions and privileges which subjected those directly to the Roman jurisdiction. They thus procured for themselves zealous defenders in the Benedictines, the congregations of Citeaux, and of Cluny, and specially in the begging Orders. The bishops had always opposed this state of things. In the Council of Trent their complaints were reproduced with a force and unanimity which did not allow the question to be entirely

eluded. To make some concession to them without abolishing the privileges of the Orders, it is agreed to give the bishops a right of supervision over the monasteries, not in virtue of the Episcopal power, but by a delegation supposed to be from the Holy See. The same expedient is renewed in divers other circumstances. The prelates act no longer as independent bishops, but as simple delegates or vicars of the pope. We subjoin some points of reformation relative to the bishops, parish priests, and monks.

No one can receive or keep several bishoprics.

Residence is recommended to the bishops ; but it is not declared of divine right, in order to leave to the pope the power of dispensation.

The bishop ought himself to preach in his church at least on Sundays and solemn festivals, except prevented by a legitimate hindrance. The bishop shall visit all his diocese every year, or at least in two years ; all the churches and all the ecclesiastics are subject to his visit and to his correction ; the exemptions and privileges are no dispensation in the case, seeing that he is the delegate of the Holy See. Whatever the bishop ordains in his visit, for the correction of morals and the good of the diocese, is observed without appeal even to the apostolic see. Bishops have the right to judge ecclesiastical causes in the first instance, except those which are reserved for the Holy See. Causes of bishops, when the quality of the crime obliges them to appear, ought to be carried before the sovereign pontiff and terminated by him. The judgment of considerable causes in criminal matters against a bishop is reserved for the pope ; in criminal causes of less importance it is sent to the provincial council. The provincial councils shall be held every three years ; the diocesan councils every year. Bishops shall establish schools or seminaries in their dioceses to give a pious education to young clerics. Inferior pastors, and all those who have charge of souls, are bound to reside ; they are constrained to it by the bishb. Clerics nominated or presented to a benefice are subject to examination by the bishop and refused if they are not capable. The bishops may put curates in the place of the vicars who

have not the requisite knowledge and capacity, and deprive of their benefice those who live disorderly.

Vicars and other directors of churches are held to preach in them on the Sundays and the solemn festivals, except on legitimate hindrance. No priest can hear confessions if he has not a benefice, or if he is not approved by the bishop. The benefices, especially those which have charge of souls, shall not be given except to virtuous persons, capable and able to reside. No one may have, on any title whatever, several cures of souls or other incompatible benefices. Plurality of benefices, whatever their nature, is interdicted when a single one suffices for the decent support of its possessor.

Mandates, graces, expectatives, and reserves are suppressed, even in regard to cardinals, as well as access and regress.

Ecclesiastical beggars are abolished throughout Christendom. The bishop will himself announce to the people indulgences and other spiritual graces ; he will collect the alms of the disciples, assisted by two members of the chapter.

The regulars (monks) may not preach in the churches of their Order, without having obtained the approbation of their superiors and the benediction of the bishop ; to preach in other churches the permission of the bishop is necessary to them.

Abbots are not to confer minor Orders except in regulars subject to their jurisdiction. Regulars of both sexes cannot possess as their own any moveable or immoveable property ; but these goods shall be immediately given up to the superiors and incorporated in the convent. All the monasteries of men and women, even those of beggars, may in future possess property in the way of endowment. The Capucins and the minor brethren of the Observance remain alone excepted. Under the title of reformation of secular princes articles had been proposed which rendered ecclesiastics independent of the secular power, whether in their persons or their property, and substituted in regard to them the pope and the bishops for kings and magistrates. The first of these articles was thus expressed : " Clerics cannot be judged by seculars, even when their title of clerkship is doubtful, or

that they would renounce their privileges, not even under the pretext of the public service or the utility of the prince ; and magistrates cannot proceed against them for the crime of assassination, nor even in other cases without a previous declaration of the Ordinary."

On the opposition of the king of France and his ambassadors, supported by Germany, these articles are first adjourned. They are afterwards replaced by an exhortation to the princes to restore all the rights of the church, to cause due respect to be paid to the clergy, to forbid their officers and inferior magistrates to violate the immunities of the church and ecclesiastical persons, to obey, as well as their officers, the commands of the pope and the councils. As a sequel to this exhortation, the council renews, with an order to obey them, all the decrees of the general councils and the constitutions of the Holy See in favour of ecclesiastical persons and liberties. Thus are the immunities of the church maintained and amplified ; but the articles at first presented would have had more precision and vigour than that simple renewal of decrees and constitutions, a great number of which were disowned or had fallen into desuetude.

The council then declares that whatever words or clauses had been used in the decrees of ecclesiastical reformation and discipline under Paul III., Julius III., and Pius IV., it was always understood that it was without prejudice to the authority of the Holy See. It demands that its own decrees be confirmed by the pope, and determines that if there arise difficulties on the manner of receiving them, and there is need of some explanation, the sovereign pontiff shall provide for it in the manner which he shall judge suitable. By means of these last clauses, the assembly acknowledged in some sort the superiority of the pope over the general council, and left all its work to the discretion of the Court of Rome. Thus that autocracy of the Holy See, which the Councils of Constance and Bâle had so vigorously rejected, was, if not promulgated as dogma, at least implicitly admitted. From that time the bishop of Rome could say to himself : "I am the Church."

Happy to see this assembly, which had given so much disquiet to the Vatican, come to a satisfactory termination, the pope hastens to confirm the decrees, without any reservation (26th Jan. 1564).

The Council of Trent is without difficulty received in Italian countries; Venice is one of the first to set the example.

The king of Spain, after examination and reflection, admits the council into his states, but with a restriction which guards the right of the prince and the kingdom; it is published in the same manner in Flanders and in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

The king of Portugal receives it purely and simply (Aug. 1564). In Germany the Protestants reject it in an absolute manner. The emperor and the Catholic princes ask the pope to grant the laity the communion under the two species, and to permit the priests who have married to retain their wives on returning into the bosom of the Church. The pontiff refuses all concession to the married priests, but he gives to some bishops permission to grant the cup to laics, in the places in which there are reasons to do so (permission which Gregory XIII. and Sixtus Quintus withdrew on the death of these prelates). The council is afterwards accepted in the Catholic States of Germany, with divers modifications according to the country. Poland receives it wholly.

In Hungary no public and solemn act acknowledges it.

In France insurmountable obstacles oppose its reception. The Government always refused it, notwithstanding the reiterated urgency of the Court of Rome and of the French clergy.

The reasons given are of two kinds: encroachment on the jurisdiction of princes and magistrates, and blows struck on the liberties of the Gallican Church. Among the former is the excommunication of emperors, kings, or princes who permit duelling, with deprivation of the city, castle, or other place where it was authorised; two other cases in which the same penalty of deprivation of goods is pronounced against them; the power given to the bishops to punish the authors

and printers of forbidden books, by fining them in a sum of money ; to deprive ecclesiastics of the revenue of their benefices ; to dispose of hospitals, workshops, confraternities, colleges, and schools ; to compel the inhabitants to give a revenue to the parish priests, and to repair the churches ; to sequestrate the products of the benefices ; to fine royal notaries and to interdict the exercise of their functions ; to change the will of testators ; to banish the keepers of concubines and to punish them with heavy penalties ; to punish the contractors and the witnesses of secret marriage ; to convert the revenues of hospitals to other purposes ; the exemption from the lay jurisdiction granted to tonsured clerics, even when they are not bachelors ; the permission granted to ecclesiastical judges to execute their sentences against laymen by seizing the fruits of their property, and even by imprisonment of their persons ; the suppression of the jurisdiction of the conservators ; the indulgences taken from sovereign courts ; the permission granted to begging monks to possess immovable property ; the prohibition to magistrates to prevent a bishop from excommunicating his diocesans for temporal things ; the injunction to execute all decrees rendered by the popes in favour of ecclesiastics ; the right given to the pope to confirm the unions of benefices, although made contrary to the rules, to grant dispensations, and to change testamentary arrangements.

In regard to the liberties of the Gallican Church, the foundations are reversed by the council, and the principal articles destroyed. These liberties have for their base the superiority of general councils to the pope ; now the Council of Trent not only abstains from recognising the superiority, but it also implicitly sanctions the opposite opinion, by submitting its own decrees to the confirmation of the pontiff, by declaring that they ought to be understood and explained, saving the authority of the apostolic see, by giving to the Court of Rome the exclusive right of interpreting them. For the particular articles of the Gallican liberties, the council disowns them, when it sends to the pope the criminal causes of the bishops, which will be settled by him ; when

it reserves to the pontiff alone the right to depose bishops, even for heresy ; when it authorises him to depose them if they do not reside, and to replace them by others, as also to call into the Court of Rome the causes of ecclesiastics that lie before the bishop ; when he accords to the bishops only as delegates of the Holy See the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction, which belongs to them of divine right ; when he derogates from several usages received in the kingdom, for example, appeals against abuses, the right of lay patronage. Although France has never admitted the Council of Trent according to the regular forms, we must observe nevertheless that the opposition has borne only on the decrees relative to ecclesiastical discipline and government. The decisions on dogma have not been contested in that country, and seem to have acquired the force of law by usage. However, according to certain persons, it is thus not in virtue of the resolutions of the council, but because almost always the question is concerning doctrines anteriorly admitted in France ; whence it is inferred that discussion is free there on points not decided before the Council of Trent. This opinion may have its importance in times when the French law obliged all the world to profess the beliefs of the Catholic Church.

The popes may have been annoyed by the opposition of France, but they have never lost the hope of surmounting it sooner or later, with the aid of favourable circumstances ; they have only to temporise. The council being received in the other Catholic regions of the West, its decisions become the common law of their Church ; each must at last accept, under pain of schism. Awaiting the occasion, Rome treated the kings of France as Huguenots and the Gallican Church as Protestants. All idea, then, of conciliation between the Catholics and the Protestants was abandoned. Henceforth there remained two Churches in presence one of the other, one founded by the papal autocracy and uncontrolled faith, the other by Sacred Scripture and free inquiry. Hence have sprung two political tendencies among the Christians of modern times. With the Roman Catholics, brought up in a spirit of servitude, absolute power predominates, what-

ever the form of the State. Among the Protestants reigns a spirit of liberty under a monarchy as well as under a republic. Monarchy will without difficulty maintain itself among the Lutherans and the Episcopalian, whose princes are the heads of the Church ; a republic will better suit the Christian sects which follow the ecclesiastic government of Calvin. The Court of Rome will in the future think of nothing else than to prosecute in all countries the extermination of the dissidents and Protestants to defend in the most effectual manner their life and liberty.

The religious peace which had just been concluded in Germany left the pontiff no means for raising there a new war. Besides, the emperor had enough to do in guarding himself against the Ottoman power ; its control demanded the power of all the German States. Three years after the Council of Trent, Maximilian grants to his Lutheran subjects the free exercise of their worship ; Ferdinand II. will take them away in 1645. The precarious state of Hungary, oppressed by the Turks, and torn by the rivalry of the Austrian princes and the Vaivodes of Transylvania, gave the Protestants full facility for spreading their doctrines. They had equally an open field in Poland. Scandinavia was definitely lost for the pontifical court. In regard to the other countries of Europe, the pope found a powerful auxiliary in the successor of Charles V. Master of Spain, the Milanese, the two Sicilies, the Low Countries, and later on, of Portugal, Philip II. saw his power increased by the tributes of the new world. He was a prince according to the desires of Rome—superstitious, fanatical, and resolutely cruel. With him every means was good to maintain the sacerdotal authority, which he regarded as a divine institution, and as the surest foundation of his own power.

In the Council of Trent he moderates the zeal of the Spanish bishops against the pretensions of the Roman Church. In all places he shows unbounded devotion for the holy office of the inquisitor. Spain bends down under the yoke of that tribunal of blood. No one is sheltered from its blows. The archbishop of Toledo himself, Bartholomew Caranza, is arrested by order of the Inquisition,

and retained in their prisons notwithstanding the intervention of the Council of Trent. Philip II. took pleasure in contemplating the execution of the victims ; he declares himself ready to give up to the Inquisition his own son if he falls into heresy. Persecution drives the Moors of Spain into revolt ; after two years of war nearly a hundred thousand families are driven from the country or exterminated (1570). In the Low Countries everything is put to fire and sword. Although subject to the Spanish domination, that country had been promptly invaded by the ideas of the Reformation. The Lutheran doctrine had been spread from the beginning ; later on, the Calvinists come to fill the place of the disciples of Luther. Charles V., on pain of death, interdicts the books of the dissidents and secret assemblies (1550) ; but his sister, the Queen of Hungary, who has governed the country for long years, suspends the execution of the interdict. When Philip II. becomes master of the Low Countries, his first care is to labour for the extirpation of heresy. He at first obtains from Paul IV. the erection of three archbishoprics and twelve new bishoprics (1558). These episcopates are conferred on Spaniards devoted to the council of the King. The government of the provinces is committed to the Duchess of Parma, to whom three thousand Spanish troops are given, and the Cardinal Granville as her counsellor. The latter directs himself according to the spirit and the maxims of the Inquisition. He even attempts to establish it at Anvers, but he is prevented by a sedition, and determines to quit the country. The complaints of the people are carried into Spain by the Count of Egmont, who is not listened to. The nobles then form, for the liberty of their country and their conscience, a league known under the name of *the Confederation of the Beggars*. They present a request to the Government (1566). The only favour granted by the Court of Spain is that those of whom they complain shall be hanged instead of burnt, and that those who shall embrace Protestantism shall be banished. Rome pressed Philip II. to finish the matter by rigorous measures. A rumour spreads that he is coming with a formidable army. The

Protestants then preach the Reformation in all the provinces, hold assemblies, league themselves with the Lutherans of Germany. Certain that their destruction is determined on, they begin the war themselves. Everywhere they adhere to the Confession of Augsburg ; they beg the German princes to intercede with Philip II., but some of the insurgents are brought back ; their troops are beaten—Valenciennes is captured. The principal leaders are apprehended. Holland is obliged to submit. A multitude of Flamands emigrate into the adjoining countries. The Duke of Alba arrives with absolute power—the Protestant governor retires. The duke establishes a council of twelve judges, who pronounce in matters of religion without appeal. The prisons are filled—a crowd of persons are put to death. William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and the principal lords cited before that tribunal, are declared guilty of treason. Their property is confiscated.

On the advice of the inquisitors of Spain, the Council of Twelve, surnamed *the Bloody Council*, issues a terrible edict, which is followed by the most cruel executions. Thirty thousand Flemish pass into the neighbouring countries. Three armies raised by the Prince of Orange are scattered by the duke of Alba. This duke sends a number of gentlemen to the scaffold ; the counts of Egmont and Horn are beheaded on the public square of Bruxelles (1568). The Prince of Orange, who has passed the Rhine with German troops, finds himself closely pressed by the duke of Alba, and compelled to retreat. The cruelty of the Spaniards spreads universal indignation. A number of cities embrace the cause of the insurrection. The Prince of Orange, master of Holland and of Zealand, lays the foundation of the republic of the united provinces (1572). The duke of Alba, it is said, boasted of having put to death eighteen thousand persons by the hand of the executioner. He receives as his successor Louis de Raquesens (1574), who, after divers alternatives, is replaced by Don Juan of Austria (1578). This prince beats the Confederates, but Amsterdam receives them, and abolishes the Catholic religion. The duke d'Alençon, brother of the King of France, Henry III., who aspires to

the royalty of the Low Countries, sends into them three thousand foot soldiers and a thousand gentlemen volunteers.

The states grant liberty of conscience in all the provinces. A third party is formed, called the *Malcontents*, who will obey neither the states nor Juan of Austria. This prince dies a short time after (1578). The duke of Parma, his successor, succeeds in bringing back the ten southern provinces ; but the seven northern provinces are linked more closely one with another by the union of Utrecht (23d January 1579). The archduke Matthew, whom the Confederates had called to the government, retires at the end of some years without doing anything useful for their cause.

In 1581 the States General, assembled at the Hague, declare Philip II. deprived of the sovereignty of Flanders. This edict forms the fundamental title of the Republic of Holland. The duke d'Alençon is elected duke de Brabant, but his bad conduct soon deprives him of the fruit of that election ; he is forced to return from it in 1583.

The assassination of the Prince of Orange (1584) does not change the state of affairs. Maurice, his son, succeeds him when eighteen years old, and shows talents above his age. After the death of the duke of Parma (1592) he gains great advantages over the Spanish generals. At length in Spinola they give him a worthy rival. Exhaustion and lassitude cause a truce of twelve years to be concluded at Anvers (1609).

Queen Elizabeth had furnished aid to the Low Countries (1581). Philip II. is so much the more disposed to second the pope in his bad designs against her. By the deposition of that princess, pronounced by Paul IV., the throne would have belonged to Mary Stuart, grand niece of Henry VIII. In France she had even taken the title of Queen of England, after the decease of her cousin Mary (1558). Constrained to renounce that title by a treaty concluded at Edinburgh, Mary Stuart none the less believed herself the legitimate sovereign of the kingdom. Troubles that took place in Scotland having obliged her to seek refuge there (1568), Queen Elizabeth requires Mary to prove herself innocent of the death of her husband, and puts her under

guard. Conspiracies are got up in Mary's favour. Numerous partisans, impelled by the pope, Spain, the league, and the Jesuits, produce an agitation. Pius V. excommunicates Elizabeth, declares her unworthy of the throne, and forbids all Englishmen to obey her (1570). His Bull, placarded in England, does not fail to make some impression on the Catholics of England. Elizabeth, till now tolerant towards them, interdicts all communication with Rome under the severest penalties. Several persons are punished with death for having spoken in favour of the excommunications of the pope. Conspiracies are formed. Elizabeth throws the responsibility on Mary Stuart, and retains her in prison. A new conspiracy in England and the armaments of Philip II. accelerate Mary's death ; she was executed the 18th of Feb. 1587. The king of Spain continues his preparations under the instigation of the Roman pontiff. A year after the death of Mary Stuart, he puts to sea a fleet which is named *The Invincible*. Dispersed by a tempest, it perishes in the floods and under the attacks of the English. To second the expedition a Bull of Sixtus Quintus had put England under an interdict, commanding the English, under a promise of indulgences, to join with the Spaniards and to deliver Elizabeth up to them. The whole effect of this Bull is to increase the queen's enmity to the Catholics and to make her an irreconcilable foe to the pontifical See. Rome and Philip II. agree to revive the religious troubles which desolate France. After the colloquy of Poissy, the Queen-mother thinks of making use of the Protestants to counterbalance the power of the triumvirate. An edict of the 7th January 1562 permits them, until the conclusion of the differences by a general council, or until a new order from the king, to hear preaching on the outside of the cities without being disquieted or molested by anyone ; nevertheless they are forbidden to hold synods or conferences without inviting the magistrates to them. Thus the reformed religion takes a rapid flight. Preaching is run after, the convents are deserted. The hatred becomes so much the more ardent between the zealots of the two parties. Collisions take place in different parts. In Paris agitation is at its height. Not more than

some thousands of Calvinists are there, the majority belonging to the enlightened classes, to the nobility, or to the higher citizen class. The triumvirate prepares for the struggle and gains over the King of Navarre to the Catholic cause. The massacre of Vassy becomes the signal of the civil wars (March 1562). The duke of Guise makes himself master of Paris and the person of the king. At the solicitation of the Queen-mother, the prince of Condé seizes Orleans, and publishes a manifesto. To calm the Calvinists a declaration permits them to meet together, except in Paris, its suburbs and outskirts. Condé pursues his enterprise. The Protestants occupy a great number of cities, especially in Dauphiny, la Guyenne, and Languedoc. The royal army lays siege to Rouen, where perishes Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre. A sanguinary battle is fought at Dreux. The two generals are made prisoners, the prince de Condé and the constable Montmorency ; the marshal de Saint Andre is in the number of the slain. The duke de Guise lays siege to Orleans ; he is assassinated there (18th Feb. 1563). The war is terminated by the Edict of Amboise, which amnesties the Calvinists and authorises their worship in the houses of the nobles, in the domains of the lords high justice, and in a city for each county (12th March).

In 1565 Catharine de Medici holds conferences at Bayenne with the duke of Alba, who advises her, among other things, to take off the principal heads of the Reform movement. From then the Court shows itself more hostile to the Protestants ; their liberty is restricted ; the violence of the Catholics receives more toleration ; the Queen raises troops and procures a reinforcement of six thousand Swiss. The Calvinists, alarmed, prepare for war (Sept. 1567). The prince of Condé tries to carry off the king at Meaux. Charles IX. is conducted to Paris in the midst of the Swiss forming the square battalion. The Calvinists march on the Capitol ; the Constable can scarcely conquer them at Saint Denis, with troops three times more numerous (10th November) ; he dies of his wounds. A treaty of peace concluded at Longjumeau confirms liberty of con-

science (23d March 1568). This peace offers little security. Complaints multiply ceaselessly. Catharine desires to arrest the Protestant chiefs. Condé and Coligny take refuge in Rochelle. The war recommences. The Calvinists are beaten at Jarnac, where the prince of Condé is slain by treason (13th May 1569). Coligny saves the wreck of the army. Another prince of the blood, Henry de Bearn, becomes the head of the party. The royal army gains the victory at Moncontour. The provinces are devastated. Finally, peace is concluded at Saint Germain on Laye. The reformers, besides the liberty of preaching, obtain four cities of safety, and some other advantages (8th August 1570). But a lure is hidden under these advantages. In order to inspire confidence, a marriage is agreed upon at Blois between Henry de Bearn and Margaret, sister of Charles IX. (1571). The following year, the Queen of Navarre is poisoned at Paris (9th June). Henry becomes King of Navarre, arrives in that city with the young prince of Condé. The 18th August 1572 he marries Margaret of France. The following days are passed in festivities. The 22d a shot is fired at Coligny. Charles IX. swears to punish the assassin. At the instigation of his mother, the next day he gives an order for exterminating the Protestants. The 24th, in the morning, the tocsin sounds. The admiral is the first victim ; then the massacre becomes general. In Paris it lasts seven days. The king of Navarre and prince de Condé have their lives saved as princes of the blood ; but they are compelled to abjure. Throughout France the Calvinists are cut down. Few governors refuse to obey the orders of the court. The estimate of the number of the dead varies from sixty to a hundred thousand. The king declares, in a bed of justice (council), that the massacre took place by his orders. The parliament branded the memory of the admiral, and voted that every year a procession should take place on the day of Saint Bartholomew, to render thanks to God. In Spain the public eulogy of that massacre is pronounced in the presence of Philip II. ; it receives the title of *The Triumph of the Church Militant*. The duke of Alba kindles bonfires

in his camp before the city of Mons. At Rome, Pope Gregory XIII. illuminates the city, and fires the cannon of the Castle Santo Angelo. A procession is ordered, in which the pope himself takes part, in order to offer God thanks for the event. Scenes connected with the massacre are painted and hung in the Vatican, and commemorative medals are struck. A legate *a latere* is commissioned to urge Charles IX. to persist in his undertaking ; the pope sends to that prince a sword which he has blessed. Among the Protestants who escape from the massacre, some retire into Vivarais and the neighbouring provinces ; others pass into England, Germany, or Switzerland ; several pretend to abjure in order to remain in France ; a great number take up arms afresh. Montauban, Nimes, Castres, and la Rochelle form a confederation. The last city, besieged by the duke d'Anjou, repels nine assaults ; the royal army perishes almost entirely. A capitulation is granted to the inhabitants, which leaves them masters at home, and in which are comprised Nimes and Montauban. The small town of Sancerre sustains a siege of eight months. About this time there appears a third party, which is called the party of the Malcontents or the Politicians (1573). The four Montmorencies are the soul of it ; the duke d'Alençon, brother of the king, is its head ; the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé adhere to it. They enter into relations with the Calvinists. The conspiracy is discovered. The princes are imprisoned in Vincennes ; a great number of nobles are also imprisoned ; two of the chief are decapitated. War does not cease to desolate the provinces. Charles IX. dies at twenty-four years of age (30th May 1574). Henry, his successor, surrounds himself with favourites, and institutes fraternities of penitents. The party of the Politicians is revived, the duke d'Alençon quits the court. The marshal de Damville, united with the Calvinists, makes great progress in Languedoc. The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé escape and retract their forced abjuration (1576). The Germans come to the aid of the confederates. Henry III. is obliged to submit to peace. An edict in seventy-three articles grants liberty

of conscience, and the free exercise of the reformed religion, except in Paris and two leagues in the environs. Mixed chambers, one half Catholics, the other Protestants, are created in the Parliaments of the kingdom ; the memory of the admiral (Coligny) is restored ; the king engages to assemble the States-General at Blois, to receive the complaints of his subjects, and to provide for the wants of the state (6th May).

This edict, so favourable to the Protestants, becomes the occasion of the League. The Guises sign a formula of union by which they swear on the Holy Gospels to consecrate their life and property to the maintenance of the Roman religion, and to the combatting of heretics. The pope and the king of Spain support the undertaking. The design of the leaguers is to raise the populations by preaching and confession, to transfer to the duke of Guise all the royal authority, to destroy the principal Protestants, to abolish the liberties of the Gallican Church. Their progress is rapid. Henry III., unable to rule the two parties, declares himself head of the League (April 1585). He revokes from the states of Blois the edict granted to the Protestants. The civil war recommences ; it is terminated by the edict of Poitiers, which gives new places of security to the Calvinists (1577).

The death of the duke d'Alençon greatly modifies the state of things (10th June 1584). The king of Navarre then becomes the presumptive heir to the crown. The leaguers take measures. Their emissaries traverse all the cities. Henry III. is cried down in the pulpits and the confessionals. The Guises treat with Spain for the exclusion from the throne of every heretical prince, and every one suspected of heresy. They raise troops. The Cardinal de Bourbon retires to Peronne, and puts himself at the head of the League (April 1585). Henry III., compelled to give way, revokes, by the edict of 18th July, all those that the Protestants have obtained. He ordains that the Catholic religion be alone professed in the kingdom, under the pain of loss of body and goods ; the ministers and preachers are commanded to leave France in a month, and all Calvinists in six months, unless they have abjured.

The king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the duke of Montmorency publish a manifesto against the Guises. Bulls of Sixtus Quintus confirm the League, and declare the king of Navarre and the prince de Condé relapsed heretics, and, as such, incapable of succeeding to the crown (10th September). The two princes publish an opposition even to Rome, with an appeal to the Court of Peers of France, and to a free council (6th November).

Henry III. takes up arms against the Calvinists (1586). In that war, called *the War of the Three Henrys*, the royal troops, commanded by Joyeusee, are defeated at Coutras by the king of Navarre (20th October 1587) ; but on his side the duke de Guise scatters an army of Germans which was marching to the assistance of the Calvinists.

The prince of Condé dies of poison at Saint John d'Angely (1588). The leaguers suggest to the king to publish the Council of Trent, to establish the tribunal of the Inquisition, to confer great power on the chiefs of the League. Henry III. eludes replying. Guise comes to Paris despite the prohibition. The king introduces by night four thousand Swiss and two thousand French soldiers. An insurrection bursts out, barricades are advanced to within fifty feet of the Louvre (12th May), the royal troops are disarmed. The king flees to Chartres ; the capital is in the leaguers' hands.

Henry III., retiring to Rouen, concludes with the leaguers a treaty which is published under the title of *Edict of Union* (1st July). In this act he again declares himself head of the League, appoints the duke de Guise lieutenant-general of the kingdom, recognises the Cardinal de Bourbon as first prince of the blood, gives places of security to the League, and convokes the States-General at Blois. Those states open the 16th October. The Assembly takes an oath to exterminate the heretics, to exclude from the throne every prince whose faith is suspected, and to admit to offices and dignities only pure Catholics. Henry III., who sees himself the plaything of the leaguers, puts to death the duke of Guise, and arrests the cardinals de Guise and de Bourbon, the archbishop of Lyons, the prince de Join-

ville, and other noblemen, as well as the most zealous of the League (23d December). The next day the Cardinal de Guise is slain by a pike ; the others are taken into different prisons. All Paris is in combustion ; the preachers cry aloud for vengeance. The Sorbonne decides that the king ought to be no longer obeyed. The parliament is put into the Bastille. Most of the cities imitate the capital ; only some provinces are restrained by their governors. The duke of Mayenne takes the place of the duke of Guise his brother, with the title of Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of France. Henry III. retires to Tours, treats with the king of Navarre ; they proceed to Paris. The king of France is excommunicated by Sixtus Quintus, and assassinated by Jacques Clement (1st August 1589). Transports of joy fill the capital ; the pulpits eulogise the assassin ; his likeness is placed on the altars. Sixtus Quintus extols him in a full consistory by comparing him with Judith and Eleazar. The Cardinal de Bourbon is proclaimed King by the leaguers under the name of Charles X. ; he dies the following year. Most of the Catholics of the royal army acknowledge Henry IV. under certain conditions, but the desertions are frequent. The king retires into Normandy ; Mayenne follows him with an army triple in number, and is beaten at Arques (Sept.). The conqueror returns to Paris.

A legate arrives in that city with a mission to get a king elected. Philip II., protector of the League, desires the crown for his daughter, niece of Henry IV. ; but Mayenne will have no master. He marches against Henry IV., who defeats him again at Ivry (March 1590), and proceeds to blockade the capital. The Sorbonne declares that prince unworthy of the throne, even were he absolved from censures. A regiment of priests and monks traverse the streets in procession, with the cuirass on their back, and muskets on their shoulder. After a blockade of three months, the famine is terrible ; but the duke of Parma, coming up with a powerful army, forces Henry IV. to march to meet him. Gregory XIV. declares the king deprived of his domains, and enjoins on every one to quit the party of a relapsed heretical prince (1591). Succours are sent to the leaguers

from Rome. The king of Spain endeavours to get possession of the crown with the aid of the pope and the Sixteen. These last are put down by the duke of Mayenne. The States-General of the League assemble at Paris for the election of a king (26th January 1594). The legate speaks decidedly against the king of Navarre. The Sixteen wish to call to the throne the young duke of Guise, who has just escaped from prison. The Spaniards demand the abolition of the Salique law in favour of the infant ; they offer to marry her to the duke of Guise, who will be proclaimed king. This combination has chances of being adopted, and rallying a great part of the provinces.

Henry IV. understands that it is necessary to renounce Calvinism, the only thing which the Politicians require for his recognition. He abjures at Saint Denis, before the archbishop of Bourges. The duke of Mayenne having left Paris, the count of Brissac, whom he has made governor of it, treats with the king, and introduces him into the city without combat or tumult (21st March 1594). The Spaniards capitulate ; the legate withdraws. John Chatel makes an attack on the king's life (Dec. 1594). He declares that he has been indoctrinated by the Jesuits. A decree of the parliament banishes them from the kingdom as corruptors of youth, disturbers of the public peace, enemies of the king and of the State ; Father Guignard is hanged. An accommodation with pope Clement VIII. is arranged ; in great pomp he pronounces the absolution of the king (10th Sept. 1595).

Henry IV. makes peace with Mayenne and the principal nobles (1596). He holds an assembly of notables at Rouen, visits Normandy, and la Bretagne, and issues at Nantes the famous edict which secures to Calvinists the liberty of conscience, places of security, and the free exercise of their religion (13th April 1598).

In the midst of his efforts to stimulate the Catholics to the extermination of Protestants, the papacy does not neglect to consolidate its own domination over the faithful of its Church.

Pius V. (1566-72), who was made a saint, was a man of

ardent zeal and hard character ; he had been an inquisitor. The heretics arrested in Tuscany, at Venice, at Milan, are by his order taken to Rome and burned there. He reforms the tenor of the life of cardinals, and undertakes to re-establish the monastic discipline, of which there remained no trace in many places. His cares, his troops, and his money are employed for the maintenance of the Roman authority in several countries of Europe. He enjoins on the Catholic princes to seize the States of the queen of Navarre, the protectress of the Reformation. The implicit recognition of the papal omnipotence, in the Council of Trent, was not sufficient for him. He resolves to corroborate it by the Bull *In coena Domini*. The work of several popes, that Bull is read in Rome on Shrove Thursday. Pius V., after making different additions to it, publishes it afresh amid great display (1567) ; he orders that on that sole publication all the world must submit to it, that the vicars read it publicly every year on Shrove Thursday, and that it remains affixed on the doors of the churches and in the confessionals. Now this Bull *In coena Domini* declares excommunicated those who appeal to a council from the decrees, sentences, and ordinances of the pope ; the universities, colleges, and chapters which believe and teach that the pope is subject to a general council ; the princes who contract treaties of alliance or of peace with heretics or who publish new imposts without the permission of the Holy See, or who assail the immunity of the clergy by exacting from them tribute, charges, and taxes paid by other subjects ; the secular magistrates and judges who put obstacles of any kind to the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction against all people ; those who oppose the publication and execution of the pope's letters in the States of sovereigns before the prince has accepted them.

A general protest is made against these theories in France, Germany, Spain, the States of Venice. But many bishops of the kingdom of Naples attempt to procure the execution of the Bull. The pope commands all the confessors of that country to refuse absolution to whosoever does not conform to it. The Spanish Government is led in

that kingdom to take measures which induce the pontiff to moderate his orders. The Bull *In coena Domini* has never been published in France. It has been published regularly in Italy from Pius V. to Clement XIV. At the end of the 18th century it was rejected in all Europe. Pius V. drives the Jews from the ecclesiastical State (1569). Full of ardour for the war against the Turks, he institutes a festival in commemoration of the battle of Lepanto, in which his galleys took part (7th Oct. 1571).

Rome joyously welcomes the death of that pontiff, whom the excessive rigours of the Inquisition have caused to be detested. Gregory XIII. (1572-85), the approver of the Saint Bartholomew, does not show himself less favourable to that sanguinary tribunal. He causes the Council of Trent to be received by the Catholic cantons of Switzerland.

In the conflicts raised by the Reformation, the fraud of the decretals falsely ascribed to the first bishops of Rome was laid bare—decretals which served as basis for the omnipotence aimed at by the popes from Gregory VII. downward. It was henceforth indispensable that these fabrications should be eliminated from the Roman theology, and specially from the decree of Gratian, who gave them as true and irrefragable. This correction is effected by the cares of Gregory XIII. But in removing the text, the pope takes care not to retrench from the decree the maxims which they engendered and the decretals published in conformity with those of Isidore Mercator: otherwise what would have remained in support of the pontifical pretensions? To Gregory XIII. is due the reform of the Calendar (1582). Sixtus Quintus (1585) actively supports the League in France, and seconds Philip II. against Queen Elizabeth. He publishes the edition of the Bible called the Vulgate, which received many various readings under Clement VIII. Urban VII., Gregory XIV., and Innocent IX. do no more than appear on the pontifical throne (1590-91). Clement VIII. (1592-1605) reconciles Henry IV. with the Holy See. The coming of the Reformation had for effect not only the removal from the Court of Rome of a great part of

the European States. Its moral power was also more or less shaken in those who remained united with it. The popes feel the necessity of compensating their losses in Europe by conquests in the countries recently discovered, to correct the morals of the clergy, and at the same time to call forth new defenders in the midst of Catholic countries. One of their first cares is the reform of religious societies and the creation of different Orders.

After their definitive separation into two families (the Conventuals and the Observantines) particular separations took place from time to time among the Minor Brethren. New congregations or societies resulted, which are varieties of the Observantines. Matthew Baschi, from love of stricter poverty, clothes himself in rough cloth, and covers his head with a pointed cowl, which he supposes to be that of Saint François. A certain number of Franciscans unite with him; and these brethren of the pointed cowl, designated Capucins, multiply in an extraordinary manner. Another society of the strict observance is approved by Clement VII. about the year 1531; it spreads in Italy and in France, where its members are known under the name of Reformed or Recollets. In 1524 there is established in Italy an order of regular clerics called Theatines, whose object is the reform of ecclesiastics. Another society of regular clerics is formed in the same spirit under the name of Barnabites (1530). Societies of the same nature are also founded during the sixteenth century. In the number are reckoned the Sommaques, intended to assist orphans (1540), the Society of God's Mother, which devotes itself to the teaching of Christian doctrine; the Minor regular clerics, who have for their object the spiritual aid of the faithful, and the instruction of the young. Brethren of Charity are instituted by John de Dieu, for the relief of the sick poor. Philip de Neri establishes at Florence the Society of the Oratory, which proposes to labour for the salvation of their neighbours by instructions, and by the administration of the sacraments (1564). It comprises laymen and clerics; they take no vows. The Society of Christian Doctrine is founded by Cæsar de Bus, for the catechising of adults and

children ; it is confirmed by the pope in 1598. Cæsar de Bus institutes at the same time the Ursulines, who give themselves to the instruction of persons of their sex.

But of all the religious orders which date from the sixteenth century, the Society of Jesus is undoubtedly that which has most efficaciously seconded the views of the Court of Rome. The credit of the Dominicans and the Franciscans had sunk from different causes. The Jesuits actively supplemented it ; their creation corresponds to the wants of the papal autocracy in modern times. Ignatius, their founder, born in the castle of Loyola, in Biscay, had had a very stormy youth. Converted in 1521, in consequence of a wound received at the siege of Pampeluna, he goes to make a watch of arms\* at the altar of Notre Dame de Montserrat, and devotes himself as a knight to the service of the Virgin Mary. After endeavouring to acquire, in several cities of Spain, the instruction which he lacks, he goes to Paris, where he studies until 1536. Several of his fellow-students associate themselves with him, Lefevre, François Xavier, Lainez, Salmiron, Bobadila, Rodriguez, and three others. They all go to Rome (1537), and form themselves into a society under the name of the Company of Jesus. Besides the ordinary vows of poverty and chastity, they make one of entire submission to a general, who is to be permanent, and another of absolute obedience to the pope ; they interdict each other ecclesiastical dignities. Paul III. approves the new Order, under the condition that it shall not have more than sixty "professed" brethren (1540). Ignatius is elected general. While his companions go to divers places whither the pope sends them, he traces at Rome the plan of the constitution or rules of the Order.

The members of the society divide their time between the contemplative life and the active life ; for the former, mental prayer is prescribed, as well as the examination of conscience, the perusal of the sacred books, the frequent use of the sacraments, spiritual retirement ; for the second,

\* An ancient ceremony, which consisted in the fact that he who was to become an armed knight passed the night in watching in a chapel where were the arms with which he was to be clad the following day.

preachings, missions, catechisings, conversion of heretics, visiting prisons and hospitals, direction of consciences, instruction of youth. The members are not restricted to public offices, even on Sundays and festivals. The general (or director) resides at Rome. By his side are four general assistants, one of Italy, one of France, one of Spain, and one of Germany; they have consultative voices. The society comprises three Orders, the professed, the formed coadjutors, and the approved scholars. The professed are of two sorts, the one of four vows, the others of three. There are also two classes of coadjutors, the one spiritual, the other temporal. The professed pronounce solemn vows; those of the coadjutors are public, but simple. The approved scholars are bound to the society for the performance of the three vows; but the society is not pledged in regard to them. It has the right to release them from their vows, and to send them away. They preserve the rights of property in their goods, but they cannot enjoy them or dispose of them, except with the concurrence of the superiors. The spiritual coadjutors take no vow of absolute obedience to the pope, they may be regents, and even rectors in the colleges; they do not take part in the election of the general. The temporal coadjutors are laymen who undertake to serve the Order; these are servants of the establishments, those secretly affiliated persons in all ranks of society. The last are called by the world *Jesuits of the Short Robe*. The professed of the four vows, who always precede the spiritual coadjutors, are the essential part of the society, and know several of its secrets. The general nominates the provincials, the superiors of the professed houses, and the associates, as well as the rectors of the colleges; besides the four general assistants, he has also an admonitor to point out to him what is irregular in his government and in his person. The popes have granted certain privileges to the members of the Orders; for example, the exercise of the sacred ministry in all churches, even during an interdict; the giving of absolution, even in the cases reserved for the Holy See; not to be subject to any local authority, and to have above them only the

sovereign pontiff. In 1546 the Jesuits began to teach the humanities and philosophy. The same year Lainez and Salmeron are sent as the pope's theologians to the Council of Trent. The Order propagates itself in different countries. But in France, the parliament opposes itself to the letters-patent which are solicited from Henry II. ; those letters having been obtained by the influence of the Cardinal de Lorraine, it refuses to register them. The Sorbonne declares that the new society seems perilous in matters of faith, an enemy to the peace of the church, and born rather for the ruin than for the edification of the faithful (1554). Preachers, incumbents, professors, rise against it ; the Bishop of Paris forbids its members to exercise any functions in his diocese ; but with time, the Jesuits succeed in dispelling the tempest. The Order does not restrict itself to the western regions ; they have establishments in Jerusalem, Constantinople, Cyprus. It sends into Africa, America, and the East Indies, missionaries, among whom François Xavier, called the Apostle of the East, holds a distinguished place. Setting out from Lisbon in 1541, he goes and preaches the gospel at Goa, on the coast of Comorin, at Malacca, in the Moluccas, and as far as Japan. He dies the 2d December 1552, in view of China, towards which he was directing his steps.

At the death of Ignatius the society is spread, so to say, throughout the world. It comprises twelve provinces, which count at least a hundred colleges, without the professed houses. The nomination of his successor gives place to severe contests. Finally Lainez, provincial of Italy, is elected in July 1558. This General is present at the colloquy of Poissy, and succeeds in getting the Society, on certain conditions, introduced into Paris. The Act is registered in the Parliament the 13th February 1562. The Jesuits open a college in that city the 1st October 1564. But the university offers opposition and refuses to incorporate them. A lawsuit takes place before the Parliament. The principal reproach that the university addresses to them, is that they make a vow to place the pope above princes and councils, and that they seek to enrich themselves

by the spoliation of families. Nevertheless the Order has already strong recommendations in France. The parties receive instructions (April 1565). By this means, without being associated with the body of the university, the Jesuits are able to continue their lessons provisionally. The rule of Iguatius prescribed the teaching of the scholastic doctrine of Thomas d' Aquinas. Lainez adds to it the faculty of teaching a treatise of theology *better suited to the times*. Had he then in view his doctrine of grace and free-will, which contradicts that of Thomas d' Aquinas, or that more accommodating morality developed by the Casuists of the Society !

In Germany, the peace of religion concluded at Augsburg (1555), while securing the independence of Lutheranism, arrested it in its progress. The ecclesiastical reserve then stipulated, and in virtue of which the archbishop, bishop, or any other member of the clergy who becomes Protestant, loses his place or benefice, had doubtless put obstacles in the way of more conversions than one.

On the other side Luther's Church defended itself with difficulty against Calvinism. After having supplanted it in France, in the Low Countries, even in England, it extended itself into the Germanic lands. The Elector Palatine Frederic III. takes it under his protection. The prince substitutes in his states Calvinists for the Lutheran pastors, and obliges his subjects to embrace the doctrine and the constitution of the Church of Geneva (1560). Lutheranism is, in truth, re-established by his son in 1576. But under the successor of the last, the doctrine of Calvin resumes the upper hand (1580). From that time the Church of the Palatine holds a distinguished rank among those of that communion. The beliefs and the institutions of Geneva are also adopted by the republic of Bremen and by other states of Germany. Even in Saxony the fusion of the two Protestant Churches meets with numerous partisans. Melanchthon had always an extreme desire to effect it ; he held less than Luther to the real presence, and to some other points of divergence. After the death of the latter, he expresses himself more freely than he had previously done ; however, his natural irresolution prevents him from pushing matters further. But when he

has ceased to live, his disciples put themselves to work to substitute in the eucharist Calvin's doctrine for that of Luther. Thence arise oppositions and divisions among the rigid Lutherans (partisans of Luther) and the moderates who seek to conciliate the two churches. The Saxon doctors are convoked at Torgau by Augustus, elector of Saxony (1574). After their assembly, that prince persecutes the Crypto-Calvinists, or disguised Calvinists (the conciliators bore that name). Peucer, Melanchthon's son-in-law, undergoes a rigorous imprisonment in 1585.

To terminate the divisions among the Lutherans, the elector draws up a new Confession of Faith, which is known under the name of *The Formulary of Concord*. It consists of two parts. The first contains a system of doctrine ; the second excommunicates as heretics those that do not admit that doctrine, specially in regard to the entire presence of the body of Christ and the real manducation of his flesh and blood. This formulary is received at first by the Saxons on the formal order of the elector, and afterwards by most of the Lutheran churches. But it is vigorously attacked by the Calvinists and by those of the Lutherans who do not wish to break with them. Several considerable churches of Lutherans reject it under motives different in nature, namely the churches of Hessen, Pomerania, Nurenberg, Holland, Silesia, Denmark, Brunswick and others. After the death of the Elector Augustus, the moderate Lutherans and the Crypto-Calvinists of Saxony no longer respect the Formulary of Concord. Christian I., his successor, is held to incline to the Helvetic doctrine. The Chancellor Crellius encourages the attacks against the Formulary. The rigid Lutherans take the alarm and occasion risings and seditions (1591). Everything changes at Christian's death ; the enemies of the Formulary are persecuted, and Crellius put to death.

After the publication of this new Confession of Faith, several Lutheran churches embrace Calvinism, among others those of Nassau, Hanau, and Isemburg. The princes of Anhalt imitate that example in 1598, but while leaving to the people the liberty of choice between the two forms

of worship, of the four branches of that family three become Calvinists as well as their subjects ; the fourth (Anhalt-Zerbst) remains Lutheran with the greatest part of its own. In the first years of the seventeenth century Maurice, Landgrave of Hessen, adopts and introduces into his estates the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Geneva (1604). John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, embraces the same communion, while leaving to his subjects an entire liberty of conscience (1614). The doctrine of Calvin on the eucharist penetrates also into Denmark toward the end of the sixteenth century. But the Lutheran Church, supported by the king, opposes its extension and retains the national religion. In Prussia, the Calvinists found flourishing churches. Lutheranism had been introduced into Poland by the disciples of the Reformer under the reign of Sigismund Augustus (1548). Some time afterwards, the Bohemian Brethren, expelled from their country, came thither to spread their doctrine. Calvinist churches equally rise there. At the same time you meet with assemblies of Anabaptists, Antitrinitarians, and other separatists that had been attracted by the liberty which was enjoyed in Poland. The three churches of the Lutherans, the Calvinists, and the Bohemian Brethren, to sustain themselves against their common adversaries, form one with another a kind of confederation in a synod held at Sandomir (1570). The conditions are regulated by a Confession of Faith in which the points contested between the Lutherans and the Calvinists are enunciated in only a vague manner. But that convention, soon attacked by the Lutherans, ceases to exist in the following century. The Bohemian Brethren, descended from the Hussites, had at first shown much sympathy for Lutheranism. But after their banishment some modification takes place in their religious sentiments. Several among them, and specially those of Poland, adhere to the opinions of Calvin. When the union of Sandomir has lost its force, the Bohemian Brethren enter by degrees into the Helvetic Communion. That alliance, at first conditional, ends by becoming absolute in 1620 and 1627, under the name of the *Church of the United Brethren*.

A sort of mixture takes place ; the external form is moulded on the discipline of the Bohemian Brethren ; the articles of faith are Calvinistic. Lutheranism had penetrated into Hungary with the imperial arms, at the time of the wars of Ferdinand and John de Scepus (1540). The Calvinists introduce themselves thither in the year 1562 ; they take possession of Warasdin (1580) and settle in Lower Hungary, while the Lutherans are spread in Upper Hungary. These two communions equally found churches in Transylvania, governed by elective princes who are designated Vaivodes. The liberty of religion is consecrated there by an edict published in 1561. In their turn the Socinians settle there.

The Vaudois, shut up in the valleys of Piedmont, are led by the neighbourhood to adopt the doctrine and the rites of the Church of Geneva. Nevertheless, they preserve their ancient discipline until the year 1630, in which they take the Calvinists of France for their model. It is necessary, however, to observe that the different peoples among whom Calvinism is introduced do not always adopt without reserve their dogmas and institutions. The English reject the form of its government and worship. The thorny question of predestination is left to free examination by the Calvinists of Holland, Bremen, Poland, Hungary, and the Palatinate. Before the Synod of Dort (1618), no church makes its reception as an article of faith obligatory. But the opinion of Calvin in this matter ended by prevailing among most of the doctors of his communion. In the midst of the disagreements and struggles between the Calvinists and the Lutherans, another church has been born, which was to find in both adversaries not less vigorous than the Catholics themselves ; we refer to the Antitrinitarian Church of the Socinians. In the earliest days of the Reformation there appear men who carry the movement further than Luther and Zwingli, without giving in to the follies of the Anabaptists. The unity of God is asserted by Hetzer (1524). John Campanus teaches that the Son is inferior to the Father, and that the Holy Spirit is not a divine person. Claude preaches the same in Switzerland.

(1530), but none of them succeed in founding a sect. Michael Servede or Servetus, a Spanish physician, supports the same doctrine with greater authority. He publishes, in 1531 and 1532, *seven books and two dialogues on the errors contained in the dogma of the Trinity*. He quits Paris in 1536, and passes some time at Lyons ; remains three years at Charlieu, then settles at Vienne in Dauphiny, where he practises medicine successfully. From that city he carries on with Calvin a controversy on the Trinity, regeneration, and the necessity of baptism. In 1553 he prints clandestinely his system, under the name of *Christianity Restored*. Imprisoned at Vienne, he escapes, intending to go through Switzerland in order to pass the Alps. Calvin has him arrested on his way in Geneva. An accusation is brought against him. The Protestant ministers of Zurich, Bâle, and Berne urge on the persecution. Servetus is burned alive the 27th October 1553. Even the mild Melanchthon applauds his punishment. Moreover, he is not the only Antitrinitarian that the Protestants put to death. We may explain the persecution of the Anabaptists, who preached a community of goods and the overthrow of the established government ; in this case there was a political ground. But it is not the same with the Unitarians, who confined themselves within the domain of religious speculation. To employ force against them was to deny free inquiry, the central principle of the Reformation. So much is it more easy to modify your beliefs than to subdue your passions and renounce inveterate habits !

The doctrine of Servetus is not well understood, and is often explained in an obscure and ambiguous manner. He seems to have rejected all distinction in the divine nature, and considered the Word and the Holy Spirit as two means of communication between God and men.

About the same time there appear doctors whose opinions have more or less analogy with those of Servetus or Arius, and who become the founders of the denomination of Unitarians. Among these are Valentinus Gentilis, executed at Berne in 1556, and Matthew Gribaldi, who died the same year, under the threat of a judicial condemnation. But the

most celebrated are the two Socini, uncle and nephew, whose names denote a sect. Laelius Socinus (Sozzini), born at Vienna in 1525, was early struck with the ideas of the Reformation. He quits Italy in 1547 to gather instruction in the new churches. After travelling four years in England, France, the Low Countries, Germany, and Poland, he settles in Zurich. A suspicion of Arianism soon rises against him. The counsels of Calvin and the punishment of Servetus render him more circumspect. He returns into Poland (1558) to come back afterwards to Zurich, where he dies in 1562. He there ostensibly observed the reformed religion, but his writings contain the basis on which the Socinian Church was afterwards founded by his nephew.

Laelius Socinus had in Poland entered into relations with other men imbued like him with opinions adverse to the Trinity, and who had sought in that country a refuge against the violence of the Catholics and the Protestants. At first they had been seen to mingle with the Lutherans and the Calvinists ; then, when they had openly manifested their Antitrinitarian opinions, warm disputes arose between them and the members of those two churches. In 1565 a decree of the Diet of Petrikow enjoins on the new dissidents to assemble apart. They receive the name of Pinczovians, from the name of the city where their chiefs reside. The majority are still Arians. Some professed Socinian opinions. They have numerous obstacles to surmount. Divisions are engendered amongst them. Some are for pure Arianism ; others ascribe to Christ the quality of a celestial envoy and prophet ; others declare that he was born as other men, and withhold from him all worship. In time, however, the Unitarians acquire great credit in those countries. They have flourishing congregations at Cracovia, Lublin, Pinczow, Luch, Smila, and in divers other places of Poland and Lithuania. They establish themselves firmly at Cracovia, which becomes the centre of their body. The Bible is translated into Polish by them (1572) ; they draw up an abridgment of their doctrine, called a *Catechism* or *Confession of the Unitarians*. You there find a very simple system of religion, disengaged from the terms and subtleties of

the schools. These Unitarians are sometimes designated Anabaptists, because, as the latter, they baptise only adults, and rebaptise those who come to them. Their sect takes a new face under the direction of Faustus Socinus, whose name is given to it. Born at Sienna in 1539, Faustus early retired into France, fearing the Inquisition. He is at Lyons in 1562 at the moment of the death of his uncle Laelius, and goes to Zurich to collect his papers. Returning into Italy, he dwells twelve years at Florence. His critical examination bears also on the dogmas retained by Luther and Calvin. He denies the *pre-existence of the Word*, maintains that the *Holy Spirit* is not a distinct person, and that thus the Father alone is God. The qualification of God given by the Scripture to Christ signifies, he says, that Christ received from the Father, who alone is God in essence, a sovereign power over all creatures, which renders him worthy to be worshipped by men and angels. Faustus disowned vicarious redemption ; Christ solely taught men truth, gave great examples of virtue, and sealed his doctrine by his death. He does not admit original sin ; grace, predestination, the sacraments, which are simple ceremonies, have no intrinsic efficacy. The fundamental points of religion alone necessary to salvation are very few.

In 1579 Faustus Socinus arrived in Poland. He joins the Unitarians, and succeeds in getting them to adopt his system, less simple and better digested than theirs. Then the Church makes a great number of proselytes in all ranks and orders. A new formulary, drawn up by Socinus, is published under the name of *Catechism of Cracovia*. A school for the Socinian ministers is founded in that city, which becomes the metropolis of their religion. The doctrine of the Unitarians had been carried from Poland into Transylvania by George Blandrata, a Piedmontese physician, whom the persecutions of the Inquisition had driven from Italy (1558). Embraced by the prince, whose example was followed by the grandees, it spread nearly over the country ; it is the only part of Europe in which it has maintained itself from the first. The Socinians of Cracovia seek to spread their worship in other countries. They publish a great

number of books. Missionaries are sent into Germany, Prussia, Holland, and England, to make proselytes, specially among the great and the learned. Their efforts obtain little success. Nevertheless they are not altogether unproductive in Holland.

We have intimated that after separating from the other Protestants of Poland, in virtue of the Diet of Petrikow (1565), the Unitarians saw divisions and factions arise among them. The disagreements bear principally on the dignity of the nature and person of Christ, on the personality of the Holy Spirit, on the baptism of infants, and on divers articles of the Christian morality. Some of these divisions were of short duration ; but there are two which maintained themselves, that of the Farnovians and that of the Budneans. The former is so called from the name of Stanislaus Farnovius or Farnesius, its founder. He held that Christ was engendered and produced from nothing, before the creation of the terrestrial globe, and forbade worship to the Holy Spirit. That sect, treated with mildness, has gradually diminished, and was entirely broken up after the death of its chief (1615). It was not the same with the Budneans. Simon Budneus, their master, held that there was nothing supernatural in the birth of Christ, and no religious worship was to be paid to him. It has many followers in Lithuania and in Russian Poland. His doctrine is adopted by Francis Davidis, superintendent of the Socinian schools in Transylvania. It is combatted by Blandrata and Faustus Socinus, but Davidis remains unshaken. Thrown into prison by the prince Christopher Batori, he dies there at an advanced age. His opinions are vigorously defended by his disciples. The opponents call them Semi-Judaizers. Exposed to the enmity of the Protestants as of the Catholics, Faustus Socinus dies, the 3rd March 1604, near Cracovia, in a village where he had sought an asylum against the persecutions of his enemies.

The Socinian Church, as all the communions of the Reformation, has for basis the Sacred Scripture and free inquiry. The Socinians then reject the mass, indulgences,

the assumption and the deification of Mary, the invocation and the worship of the saints, the adoration of images and the eucharistic bread, purgatory, the supremacy of the pope, the celibacy of priests, the distinction of days and meats, the celebration of festivals, Lent and a number of other things, which the Roman Church adorns with the name of traditions. But they differ from the communions of Luther and Calvin, in that they do not admit the doctrine of the first Ecumenical Council on the trinity and the incarnation of the Word. Let us resume the principal points of the Socinian system. They support it, on numerous texts of the Old and New Testaments, whose expressions they ordinarily take in their natural sense, refusing all mystical, allegoric, or miraculous interpretation:—

God is one. He cannot be divided into three persons; he who speaks of a divine person speaks of God; there would then be three Gods in one. Were the son consubstantial with the Father, he would be one with him. If the son was begotten, he is not eternal. When the Scripture speaks of *In the beginning* it refers to the beginning of the thing in question. The expression of only son signifies beloved, cherished beyond everything else.

The Holy Spirit is not a divine person; in a crowd of passages the Scripture calls it God's spirit, the spirit of the Father; now the spirit of a person is not a person distinct from him. The Word is God's wisdom, and the Holy Spirit his power. The doctrine of the two natures in Christ is repugnant not less to Scripture than common sense. The Scripture speaks of him as a man; but he is the first of creatures and the greatest of the prophets. He was not born of the seed of Joseph; he was conceived of the Holy Spirit by the Virgin, in a supernatural manner; this is a reason why he is called Son of God, the proper and unique son, a natural son, and having no other father. The mission of Christ was intended to bring salvation and eternal beatitude to the human race. He possesses in the heavens a spiritual, celestial, and immortal body. He is prophet, priest, and king. He is the mediator of the new Covenant between God and man. His promises were con-

firmed of God, who raised him from the dead. Christ is king in heaven, on the earth, and 'in the subterraneous regions. His reign commenced at the time of his resurrection and will last until he has put all enemies under his feet. After subjecting all things to himself, he will deliver the kingdom to his Father. Divine worship is due only to God. Christians worship God by Christ, that is, according to his precepts. In consideration of the great power with which Christ is invested, they implore his aid with the Supreme Being, but without worshipping Christ himself as God. Those who shall have obeyed the voice of God (and those who will can) shall be one day clothed with a new body and dwell eternally with God. Rebels, on the contrary, shall undergo the most terrible sufferings, then they shall be annihilated. Christ gave moral precepts and ceremonial precepts. The moral precepts are the abnegation of self, enduring the cross and afflictions, the imitation of Christ. The celebration of the holy supper is the only ceremonial precept which came from Christ. It is also called the breaking of bread, eucharist, commemoration of the Lord. Satan, to corrupt that institution, has designated it under other names, such as the mass, the sacrament of the altar, the sacrament of the body of Christ, the sacrifice of the body and the blood. The supper is nothing else than a sacred act, instituted by Christ in commemoration and solemn and perpetual celebration of his death and of his love for us. Christians observe it by breaking and eating the bread and by drinking the wine. They bear witness, in eating the bread and drinking the wine, that the body and the blood of Christ are the nutriment and beverage of the soul for the spiritual and everlasting life, as the bread and the wine are for the body for the terrestrial and temporal life. This ceremony has a religious character, and each ought to examine himself before partaking of it. Auricular confession is useless and pernicious ; it was not in use either in the times of the apostles or under the Fathers of the first centuries. Purgatory rests on vain opinions. Predestination is a human misconception ; man's will is absolutely free. The precepts of the Scripture address themselves to

the generality of disciples ; none were given solely for the apostles.

Idolatry consists in paying religious worship to things and persons which are not God, and have no divine power, for instance, images, statues, saints, &c. God should be worshipped immediately ; Christ is the sole intermediary whom the disciples can implore. The Church is composed of the multitude of human beings who receive the Christian doctrine. The power of the keys was given to all the apostles, and not to Peter only ; it did not pass to their successors.

The Church is a mystical body of which Jesus Christ is the head. It ought to conform to the doctrine of the Master. It has not the right to create new dogmas, or to force any one to follow his opinions. It may establish rites in things indifferent, that is such as are not commanded or interdicted by the sacred Scripture. Original sin is not a reality. Baptism by water is only a symbol of the profession of Christian faith. The apostles did not baptise in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but solely in the name of Christ. That ceremony is indifferent in itself, and does not effect salvation ; but as baptism is necessary in the eyes of the majority of the churches, it is well to employ it, so as not to occasion scandal.

The methods of discipline in regard to individuals are admonition and correction ; the latter may proceed as far as cutting off members from the body of the church. The Socinians did not establish anything special for ecclesiastical government ; in this particular, they follow the Calvinist Church.

## CHAPTER II.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

(1598-1789.)

**SUMMARY.**—Baius—Molina—The Society de Auxiliis—Leo XI.—Paul V.—Quarrel with Venice—Gregory XV.—Urban VIII.—Innocent X.—The Thirty Years' War—Syncretism—Pietism—Herrenhutters—Independence of the United Provinces—Arminius—Gomar—Barneveldt—The Synod of Dort—Conciliatory Armenians—James I., King of England—The Gunpowder Plot—Catholic Archpriest—Charles I.—Insurrection in Scotland—Parliamentary Struggle—Massacres in Ireland—The Independents—Civil War—The Covenant—Presbyterian England—Death of the King—Republic—Cromwell—Baptists—Quakers—Enthusiasts of the Fifth Monarchy—Antinomians—Latitudinarians—Charles II.—Episcopacy in Scotland—The Cabal—Quakers in America—James II.—Insurrection—William III.—Law of Toleration—The High Church—Methodists—Swedenborgians—Intolerance of the Polish Catholics—Persecution of the Socinians and other Dissidents—Foreign Intervention—Confederation of Bar—Dismemberment of Poland—The Protestants disquieted in France—Siege of la Rochelle—Pacification—Jansenius—Saint Cyran—Port Royal—The five Propositions—Alexander VII.—Arnauld excluded from the Sorbonne—*The Provincials*—Formularies—Persecution—Translation of the Scriptures—Peace of Clement IX.—New Persecution—Arnauld in Exile—Destruction of Port Royal—Quietism—Molinos—Madam Guyon—Fenelon condemned—The French Ambassador insulted at Rome—Clement X.—Innocent XI.—The Regalia—Declaration of 1682—Franchise of the Ambassadors—Alexander VIII.—Innocent XII.—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Dragonnades—Quesnel—Clement XI.—The Bull *Unigenitus*—De Noailles—Innocent XIII.—Benedict XIII.—Plunder of Embrun—Vintimille—Clement XII.—The deacon Paris—Miracles—Convulsions—Christopher de Beaumont—Refusal of Sacraments—Tickets of Confession—The Parliament against the Court and the Clergy—Benedict XIV.—The Philosophers—Clement XIII.—The Greek Church—Roman Missions—The Jesuits in India, China, America—Their expulsion from Portugal—Bankruptcy of Father Lavalette—Suppression of their Order in France—Their Banishment from Spain and France—Abolition of their Society by Clement XIV.—Monastic Orders—The Emperor Joseph II.—Pius VI.

To combat the Protestants who maintained the doctrine of predestination, the Jesuits had raised the power of free-will so far as to incur the reproach of Pelagianism or semi-pelagianism. The charge had been brought against Lainez

in the Council of Trent ; it will be renewed under other circumstances.

This point had divided the doctors long before the age of the Reformation. The order of Dominic, faithful to the doctrine of Thomas d'Aquinas, held for predestination ; the Franciscans were more favourable to free-will. The Reformers declared themselves in favour of the theory of Augustin on grace, the Church of Rome naturally inclined in the opposite direction. But the embarrassment was great in the Council of Trent ; in anathematising the doctrine of the Reformation, they ran the risk of striking a blow on the orthodoxy of the bishop of Hippo and of the councils held against Pelagius, also of opposing the opinions of certain Fathers of the assembly. An effort consequently was made, in drawing up the decree, of slipping between the two by the aid of expressions vague and susceptible of divers interpretations. To say the truth, agreement among the Fathers existed in words only. Accordingly, a short time after, one of them, the Dominican Soto, having written three books in the guise of commentaries on this decree of the council, which, according to him, consecrated all his ideas, another Father, the Franciscan Vega, hastened to publish fifteen books of commentaries on the same decree, in which he equally found all his opinions ; and nevertheless these two Fathers differed in sentiment on nearly all the articles. The insufficiency and the obscurity of the decisions soon manifested themselves afresh by the writings of another member of the council, Michael Baius (du Bay), professor in the university of Lorraine. In order to oppose the Pelagian tendencies which he thought he discovered in certain Catholics, that doctor composes works which seem to him in conformity with the true doctrine of Augustin and of the Council of Trent. But the partizans of free-will describe them differently, among others, the Franciscans and the Jesuits. Eighteen propositions extracted from these books are censured by the faculty of the theology of Paris (1560). Five years later eighty propositions were laid before the Court of Rome. Pius V. condemns them as wholly and severally

heretical, erroneous, scandalous, although some of them, he adds, may be sustained catholically. His Bull is afterwards confirmed by Gregory XIII. (1579). Baius submits. Nevertheless, his opinions continue to find partisans, who, after his death, make unsparing war on his antagonists. One of the latter, the Jesuit Lessius, professor of theology at Lorraine, having proposed theses contrary to the doctrine of Thomas d'Aquinas on grace (1586), the faculty of theology of the same city extracts from these theses twenty-four propositions which it censures as infected with semi-pelagianism. The dispute spreads into the Low Countries. Sixtus Quintus succeeds in putting an end to it only by imposing silence on the two parties, until the Holy See had given its decision (1588). At the same time there appeared the book of the Jesuit Molina on *the Concord of Grace and Free Will*. It is attacked by the Dominicans as renewing the errors of the Pelagians and the semi-Pelagians. The Jesuits support it. Clement VIII. is obliged to intervene. He establishes at Rome the Society *De Consiliis* or on the succours of grace (1598). It holds numerous conferences, without anything being concluded at the death of that pope (1605). Leon XI. occupies the chair only five-and-twenty days. The conferences continue under Paul V. (1605-21), who closes them at last without issuing any decision. He declares to the generals of the two Orders that he will publish his decision when he shall think fit, while forbidding them under severe penalties to censure each other (1607). A prohibition is afterwards put out against printing anything on the matters handled in the Society *De Auxiliis* (1611)—a prohibition which was renewed by Urban VIII. (1625). The Jesuits are only the more bold to support their system. On the contrary, the Dominicans grow feeble in time; most of them admit the terms *sufficient grace* and *approximate power*, which favour the ideas of their adversaries. It has been said that Paul V., ready to condemn the doctrines of the Jesuits, was prevented by his differences with the republic of Venice, on the occasion of which their Order had to suffer for the sake of Rome. The Venetians had by two decrees forbidden to

found new monasteries in their states without the permission of the Senate, and to give by will, sell, or alienate in perpetuity immovables in favour of ecclesiastical persons. They at the same time imprisoned a canon and an abbot under the accusation of enormous crimes. The steps seem to Paul V. an attack made on the immunities of the church and the authority of the Court of Rome. With menaces he demands the revocation of the decrees and the enlargement of the prisoners. On the refusal of the Venetians, the Doge and the Senate are excommunicated by the pope, and all the states of the republic placed under an interdict. The government declares the sentence null, and gives to the ecclesiastics an order to continue the divine service. The Jesuits, the Capucins, and the Theatins refuse, and are expelled. Troubles taking place in consequence of the intrigues of the Jesuits, a decree of the Senate declares that in future their Order shall no longer be received in the Venetian states. At the solicitation of the pope, the king of France, Henry IV., makes himself a mediator. The affair is arranged (1607), but the Senate opposes a peremptory refusal to the restoration of the Jesuits, who will obtain it only fifty years later by the intercession of Alexander VII. Under Paul V. the dispute of the Dominicans and the Franciscans, touching the immaculate conception, is renewed in Spain, and divides the entire nation. The pope refuses to decide it, notwithstanding the urgency of the king, and contents himself with publishing afresh the bulls of Sixtus IV. and Pius V., as well as the declaration of the Council of Trent on this matter (1617). Gregory XV. (1621-23) makes the bishops in Paris metropolitan, founds the society for the propagation of the faith, and introduces the secret scrutiny for the elections of the conclave. Urban VIII. (1623-44) is a friend of letters and science, and a Latin poet of a certain merit. Under his pontificate, the duchy of Urbin, Montfeltre, Gubio, Pesare, and Sinigagli are united to the domain of the pontifical see. This pope gives the cardinals the title of most eminent, with permission to make themselves equal to sovereign princes, and several times] renews the bull, *In cæna Domini*. Innocent X.

(1644-55) injures himself in the public mind by the ascendancy which he allows to be taken by Olympia Maldachini, his sister-in-law, and the princess de Rossano, his niece ; he is specially known by his bull against the five propositions attributed to Jansenius (1653).

We shall run over the political and religious events of which the different states of Europe were the theatre in these times. Since the peace of religion concluded at Augsburg (1555), the tranquillity of Germany, despite different complaints and re-cruminations, had not been seriously threatened before the opening of the succession of Cleves and Juliers (1609) ; but the religious hatreds revive on this occasion. Two leagues are formed : one under the name of *Evangelical Union* supports the rights of the houses of Brandenburg and Neuburg ; the other, directed by the house of Austria, counts in its ranks the elector of Saxony, whose pretensions it favours. Paul V. and the king of Spain second the last. Henry IV. prepares to march to the succour of the *Evangelical Union*, when he perishes under the poignard of Ravaillac (14th May 1610). The two leagues conclude a truce which leaves all that makes the object of the litigation undecided (24th October).

The *Evangelical Union* resumes vigour some years later, when the emperor Matthias adopts Ferdinand of Austria, duke of Styria (1617). The possessions of the house of Austria had in them a great number of Protestants ; in Bohemia they formed the majority. The emperor Maximilian II. had permitted in Austria the free exercise of the confession of Augsburg (1568). In Hungary the Lutheran and Calvinistic religions were authorised (1605). The emperor Rodolph II., stript of his estates by his brother Matthias, had been constrained to confirm the religious liberties of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia (1608), and to grant to Bohemia liberty of worship, with the right of electing *Defenders* for the protection of that liberty (1609). This same Matthias, become emperor in his turn (1612), has no other thought than to restore imperial authority. It is for this object that he designates for his future successor to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, Ferdinand, duke of Styria, an able prince, a pupil of the Jesuits, and implacable

enemy of the Protestants. At the death of Matthias, those of Bohemia form, in union with the Catholics, the design to re-conquer the liberty of their country. At first they attempt, but without success, to prevent Ferdinand's election to the empire ; this prince is proclaimed under the name of Ferdinand II. At the same time the crown of Bohemia was given by the States to the Elector Palatine Frederic V. (1649). The Protestant princes support him, with the exception of the elector of Saxony, always allied to the house of Austria. The pope and Spain furnish aid to Ferdinand. A war commences which desolates Germany during thirty years. Frederic, beaten under the walls of Prague by the duke of Bavaria (1620), loses at once his new kingdom and his old estates. Bohemia goes under the yoke of the Conqueror. The Lutheran ministers are banished, their temples closed. Thirty thousand families leave their country ; their property is confiscated. The entire nation finds itself compelled to embrace the Catholic worship (1622). The duke of Bavaria is invested with the palatine electorate (1623). The *Evangelical Union* is renewed ; but it remains on the defensive, while Mansfield and Brunswick, the *enemy of the priests*, still keep the field in favour of Frederic V. A part of the union finally decides to try their fortune under the leadership of Christian IV., King of Denmark (1625) Tilly beats and pursues the confederates. The king of Denmark retires ; the other princes disarm. Mansfield is defeated by Wallenstein. The emperor encounters no more resistance (1629). Inflated by success, Ferdinand II. aims to make himself absolute and to destroy the Protestant religion. He orders the restitution of the ecclesiastical property of which the dissidents took possession after the treaty of Passau. The elector of Saxony, struck by that measure, like the other princes of his Communion, unites with them against the emperor. They call into Germany the king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus. That prince, supported by France and by the united Provinces, brings with him the elector of Brandenburg, rallies the Saxons and defeats Tilly completely near Leipzig (1631). He is master of all the country from the Elbe to the Rhine. The elector of

Saxony seizes Prague and Lusatia. All the Protestants in Germany are in arms. Tilly is beaten afresh and mortally wounded (1632). Wallenstein, who has just retaken Bohemia from the Saxons, marches to encounter the Swedish army. A combat takes place near Nurenberg, without decisive result. At Lutzen, where the struggle recommences, victory declares for the Swedes ; but Gustavus Adolphus falls on the field of battle. Wallenstein retires into Bohemia, followed by the Swedish army commanded by Bannier. The war continues with different success. The emperor causes Wallenstein, suspected of conspiracy, to be assassinated (Feb. 1634). Silesia unites with the Swedes, the party of whom dominates in Germany. Austria and Bavaria support themselves near the Danube ; the imperialists gain the battle of Nordlingen over the duke of Saxe-Weimar (Sept. 1634). They subdue Suabia and Franconia. France declares against the emperor ; it occupies Alsace except Strasburg, an independent city. Then Ferdinand II. treats with the elector of Saxony and the greater part of the Protestant princes. He abandons to them the ecclesiastical property, the cause of the devastation of Germany ; the interests of the palatine house are sacrificed (1635).

The burden of the war falls almost wholly on France ; fighting takes place in Alsace, Lorraine, Franche Comté. The imperialists, under the lead of the Elector of Saxony, are defeated by Bannier in Westphalia (1636) ; the province is ravaged as well as Hessen and Saxony. The death of Ferdinand II. does not put an end to the war (Feb. 1637). The duke of Saxe-Weimar destroys, near Rheinsfeld, the army of John de Werth, and makes him prisoner with all the general officers (1638) ; he beats one after another Goetz and the duke de Lorraine. The year following, he is overtaken by death ; his army surrenders to France. Bannier, who is master of Pomerania, subdues Thuringen and Saxony. His troops, united to the French, march on Vienna ; they are stopped by Piccolomini's clever manœuvres (1640). After the death of Bannier (May 1641) Torstenson defeats the Imperialists near Wolfenbüttel, then in Silesia, then at Leipzig (1642). The French are ill-

treated by Merci at Tuttlingen in Suabia (1643), but that general is beaten by Condé at Fribourg (1644). Torstenson enters Bohemia, routes the Imperialists at Tabor (1645), and lays siege to Brünn. Condé gains the battle of Nordlingen, in which Merci finds his death. The Swedes threaten Vienna by Moravia and the French by Bavaria. The last are condemned to beat a retreat by the defection of the Hessians. Wrangel commands the Swedish army, and with Turenne gains the battle of Lavingen and Sommerhausen (1648), they make themselves masters of Bavaria. Koenigs-marck surprises the city of Prague. The emperor finds himself alone against France and Sweden. Condé defeats the archduke Leopold at Lens (Aug. 1648). During six years conferences for peace were held at Osnabrück and Munster under the mediation of the pope and Venice. In these meetings the respective pretensions of the belligerents became greater or less according to the alternative of the successes and reverses. At last the treaty of Westphalia was concluded (14th Oct. 1648), the Protestant princes acquired several provinces, the Palatine house is re-established in its ancient possessions, except the high Palatinate which remains in possession of Bavaria; an eighth electorate is created in favour of the Palatine. Liberty of conscience is consecrated for the Calvinists as for the Lutherans, except in the states of the house of Austria; nevertheless the emperor undertakes to admit Protestants into the Aulic Council. Sweden gains Pomerania with other countries in Germany. France obtains the three bishoprics and Alsace.

The pope's nuncio protests and fulminates against the treaty, mediator though he is. The pontiff gives himself the satisfaction of breaking and annulling, of his full power, all the articles which concern religion. During the War of Thirty Years and after, the attempts made in the 16th century to unite the Lutherans and Calvinists were several times renewed by princes or by simple theologians, but the ill-will of the disciples of Luther made those attempts always fail. Among the most zealous for the reunion we may mention George Calixtus, professor of Theology in the university of Helmstadt. He is the author of the system of religion

known under the name of *Syncretism*, and which has for its object not to congregate into a single body the churches of the pope, Luther, and Calvin, but to unite them by the bonds of charity and mutual toleration. As basis of his project, Calixtus established as a principle that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity contained in the apostles' creed are preserved pure in the three communions, and that the opinions received by the doctors of the five first centuries ought to be held for not less true and authentic than if they were taught in sacred scripture. A strong opposition is made against his system in 1635, and specially after the conference of Thorn, where Calixtus freely expressed his opinions (1645). He sustained till his death (1656) a controversy which is still prolonged thirty years after him. These disputes are followed by those of *pietism*. Spener is its founder. Individual societies are formed by his care at Frankfort, with a view to revive practical piety, and to excite the indifferent. But these pious associations, after producing good effects, degenerate into abuse ; they kindle in different places in the multitude a blind and excessive zeal. Several give in to singular opinions, are subjects of visions, preach rigid maxims, declaim against the ecclesiastical authority. These assemblies make their way into all the Lutheran churches ; pietists in great numbers spring from the soil, who declare themselves called by divine impulse to destroy iniquity in its roots. Fanatics predicting the approaching ruin of Babylon—that is, the Lutheran Church—erect themselves into prophets, and announce the reign of a thousand years. The pietists are divided into two classes : the one of which Spener is the head wishes to effect a reform, but without changing anything in the doctrine, discipline, and government of the church ; the others judge it necessary, in the interests of piety, to recast the whole. The pietistic controversies subside in the 18th century. At the same time the sect of the Moravian Brethren, or Brethren of Bohemia, or Brethren of Unity, is restored. These Brethren, descended from the Taborites of Ziska, had had much to suffer in the religious wars of the 16th and 17th centuries. At the peace of West-

phalia, Bohemia remaining under oppressions, they retired into Poland or dispersed over other places. They appeared, in the beginning of the 18th century, in different countries of Poland and Protestant Germany, where some soon join the church of Calvin, and others that of Luther. A wreck of this sect, escaping from all persecutions, takes refuge in 1721 in Higher Lusatia, on the domains of Count Zinzendorf. That nobleman gives them lands, and aids them to build the village of *Herrenhut*, which gained for them the name of *Herrenhutters*; other brethren come and join them. Zinzendorf becomes their leader, introduces pietism amongst them, and does his best to spread their system at a distance. He buys a territory in Transylvania, whither Brethren repair to establish themselves, and thence they proceed to other parts of America. On his return he is proclaimed bishop of the sect, which regards him as the founder of the unity of the Brethren.

The Moravians are mystics, who propose to arrive at perfection by an inner light and an intimate communication with the Deity. They are distinguished specially by their discipline and their religious institutions. A great number of the arts of civil life are subjected to the direction of the elders or heads of the church; it is a kind of republic, in which the general interest prevails. They have been called the *Quakers* of Germany. They have establishments in the different provinces of that country, and some colonies in Holland, Switzerland, England; there are also some in India, and, before all, in the United States of America. *Herrenhut* is the sacred city and the principal place of the sect. There is placed the directing college, and every seven years delegates of divers societies meet together to decide questions of discipline. In the United Provinces the war against Spain was recommenced at the expiration of the truce of twelve years, concluded in 1609. Success is equal on both sides so long as the Spaniards are commanded by Spinola; but after his recall (1629) the superiority remains with the Protestants. By a treaty of peace signed in 1648, Philip IV. finally acknowledges those provinces as sovereign states and free countries.

During the continuance of the truce they were agitated by internal dissensions, to which predestination and free-will had given occasion or served as a pretext. Calvin, as we have said, admitted absolute decrees on the predestination of men, whether for good or for evil. Without being prescribed as an article of faith in the United Provinces, that opinion was generally received there. Nevertheless, objections arose in many minds ; a kind of reaction was produced toward the commencement of the 17th century. The signal was given by James Arminius, professor of theology in the university of Leyden. He teaches, 1<sup>st</sup>, that God predestinates to salvation those whom he foresees sure to persevere in the faith of Jesus Christ, and to damnation those whom he knows sure to persist in their unbelief, and to withstand divine grace ; 2<sup>d</sup>, that Christ suffered death for all men in general, and for each of them in particular, though that death profits only those who believe in him ; 3<sup>d</sup>, that man cannot attain to the true faith which produces salvation except so far as he has been *regenerated* and *renewed* by the Holy Spirit, the gift of God ; 4<sup>th</sup>, that that divine grace, the source of all good works, does not force man to act against his inclination, which he may *resist* and render *inefficacious* ; 5<sup>th</sup>, that those in whom is grace have sufficient strength not to yield to sin, but that saints may fall from a state of grace. A colleague of Arminius in the university of Leyden, Francis Gomar, comes forward against these doctrines ; he maintains that an eternal decree of God predestinates some to salvation—the rest to damnation ; and that none can resist these unchangeable laws. It is replied to him that this is to make God the author of sin and of the hardening of men's souls. The dispute continues with much vivacity until the death of Arminius (1609), and some years after. The states of the province of Holland are satisfied with exhorting the two parties to moderation and tolerance ; but the Gomarists utter loud cries. The Arminians, present to the state a remonstrance against the doctrine of predestination, an act which gains for them the name of *Remonstrants*. Their adversaries lay before the same states a document which they entitle *Contra-Remon-*

*strants.* There is held in 1611, at the Hague, a conference between the two parties, and another at Delft in 1613. The States-General exhort the disputants to charity and toleration (1614). The Gomarists reply by intolerance and persecution. The dispute daily grows more bitter : at last politics mix up with it. To put an end to these religious dissensions, Barneveldt, grand-pensioner of Holland, obtains from the states of that province a decree which authorises the magistrates to raise troops to serve against every seditious movement. Maurice of Nassau asserts that this resolution, formed without his consent, assails his dignity as governor and captain-general ; perhaps he sees in it a precaution against his ambitious designs. He forbids the soldiers to obey, and leads the States-General to enjoin on the magistrates of the cities to dismiss the soldiers raised in virtue of the decree. But the individual estates, who regard themselves as sovereign, disregard the injunction. They are treated as rebels. Maurice, in virtue of a decree of the States-General, marches at the head of his troops against the cities, deposes the magistrates, drives away the Arminians, imprisons Barneveldt, Grotius, and others.

The States-General convoke a national synod at Dort (1618-19). In this assembly we find deputies of the Churches of England, the Palatinate, Hessen, Bremen, Switzerland. The principal Arminians, having at their head Episcopius, present themselves to support their cause. They wish to begin by the refutation of their adversaries. They are requested to establish their own opinions before discussing those of others. They refuse to follow this method, and are excluded from the assembly. They are condemned in their absence as corrupters of true religion ; their assemblies and their ministers are interdicted. The Arminians, treated as enemies of their country and religion, are deprived of their civil and ecclesiastical employments ; and as they do not cease to meet together, penalties are imposed upon them, such as imprisonment, exile, and other punishments. They retire, some to Anvers, others to France, a great number to Sleswig, where they found the city of Frederickstadt. Barneveldt, tried by

twenty-six commissioners, is beheaded at the Hague the 13th May 1619 ; Grotius, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, is saved at the end of two years by the address of his wife ; others undergo banishment.

After the death of Maurice (1625) the Arminians are recalled into their country and re-established in their rights. They have churches in different places and a public school at Amsterdam, without the Government showing any opposition, despite the bitter complaints of some theologians. They enjoy in Holland the same toleration as the Lutherans and the Anabaptists.

At the time of the Synod of Dort, the Arminians differed from the rigid Calvinists only on the questions of predestination and free-will. But after their return from exile they gave of their five articles an explanation which brought them near Pelagianism, and submitted most of their dogmas to a new examination. This modification of their doctrine is found in germ in the writings of Arminius, who proposed to unite all Christian sects, except the Papists, by the bonds of fraternal love ; but it is his disciples who have definitively established it. According to them, Christ reduced to a small number the fundamental dogmas or the articles which must be believed to obtain salvation, in recommending charity and virtue before all things. They account, then, as a true member of the Church every virtuous and upright man who receives the Sacred Scripture as the rule of his faith, whatever the way in which he interprets it, and who, rejecting idolatry and polytheism, persecutes no one on account of religion. The Arminians, however, have a confession of their own ; but their pastors are not strict in following it, when it is in opposition to their individual opinions. Thence comes a great divergence in that church on some of the Christian doctrines. All are of one mind to receive the five articles which caused their fathers to be persecuted ; whoever combats these articles attacks the sect ; but those who speak against other doctrines have to do with only particular doctors. As a separate sect, the Arminians make little progress ; the number of their distinct churches does not increase. But

their opinions on free-will and predestination are far from losing credit. We shall see them spread in England among the upper classes. In the United Provinces they glide into the National Church, and are adopted even by the pastors charged with supporting the authority of the Synod of Dort. They have also many partisans in Brandenburg, Bremen, France, Geneva, and in all Switzerland ; the Calvinist churches of these different countries leave each one free to think as he pleases on these arduous questions.

In the time of queen Elizabeth, the attempts of the Catholics, and the attacks or remonstrances of the Puritans, kept the Church of England in perpetual agitation. On the ascent of James I. to the throne (1603), the first hoped in him for the restoration of their worship ; they had always been treated mildly by that prince, whose relatives were of that religion. On their side the Puritans flattered themselves, on account of his Presbyterian education, that they would have no more persecution to endure. Both are disappointed. James, without showing himself an enemy of the Catholics, has not an excessive condescension for them ; his disposition is less favourable for the Presbyterians. At first he seems to intend to place himself as an arbiter between the latter and the Anglicans. Ministers of both Churches meet at Hampton Court, in a conference in which he himself takes part. But the Puritans are obstinate, and the king at last threatens them with rigorous penalties, if they do not conform to the worship and discipline of the Anglican Church. This prince held his power with a firm grip, and wished to make it absolute. Now the Church of the Presbyterians, under the direction of ministers equal in dignity, naturally leads to republican ideas, while monarchy harmonises well with episcopacy. Accordingly, during his reign, the Puritans are hardly treated and the Episcopalians loaded with favours. James repeated constantly, "No bishop, no king." Notwithstanding his good nature in regard to them, the Catholics none the less conspire against him. They form a plot for blowing him up with his family and parliament by means of barrels of powder placed under the house of legislation. The conspiracy

is discovered on the evening of its intended execution (5th November 1605). The criminals who could be seized suffer the punishment due to their crime, whether priests or laymen. All the king's subjects are required to take the oath of allegiance, which contains a precise declaration against the power claimed by the pope to depose kings and release subjects from their oath of fidelity, and against the doctrine which permits princes excommunicated or deposed by the See of Rome to be dethroned and killed. The Catholics are divided as to taking that oath. It will be remembered that the bishops of that communion who declared against Elizabeth's reforms were driven from their churches, banished, or imprisoned. The last survivor of them died in the year 1580. The Catholic Church of England, without an episcopate to conduct it, had long lived in a sort of anarchy. The Court of Rome feared to excite troubles by nominating bishops, to augment the fires of persecution. Nevertheless, to concede something to the solicitations of the English clergy, it finally took the part of giving to the Church of that country a superior of a new kind, under the title of archpriest. George Blackwell, the first invested with those functions, exercised them when the oath of allegiance is required of the Catholics. He takes it with the soundest part of the clergy. A certain number of laymen follow their example. But the majority refuse, under the influence of the Jesuits. A Brief of Paul V. forbids the formula to be signed (1616). Blackwell then retracts ; he is put into prison, then released on declaring afresh that he finds nothing reprehensible in the oath of allegiance. The majority of the Catholics are drawn by this declaration. The pope publishes a second Brief in the same sense as the first (1617). Blackwell persists in maintaining the legitimacy of the oath ; he is deposed by the pope (1618). The dispute continues to the end of the reign of James I. That prince demands that oath only to leave to the Catholics the free exercise of their worship in England. But he is much less tolerant toward the Presbyterians. Several of them, in order to avoid vexations, determine to emigrate to Virginia. At the time of the Synod of Dort, James manifests great

zeal for the condemnation of the Arminians. But scarcely have the deputies got back, than the wind changes ; the king and the bishops, adopting the sentiments of Arminius, declare against the absolute decrees on predestination. This alteration is produced by a desire to approach the Roman doctrine. The rebound falls on the Puritans, who are rigid Calvinists ; the government abandons them to the hatred of the Episcopalians. At the death of James I. (1625) England finds itself in a state of fluctuation between different religious theories, either religious or political. Charles I., infatuated with his father's ideas on royal absolutism, endeavours to carry them into execution. Favourable to the Catholics, including *recusants*, he persecutes the Presbyterians, whom he regards as enemies of his authority. His rigours contribute to spread the Presbyterian doctrine among the friends of liberty, as among the adversaries of superstitious practices. The conduct of the Court makes men suppose that it has the design to re-establish popery. The parliament, in struggle with the king, undergoes several dissolutions, and returns each time with a more decided spirit of opposition. At the same time Scotland is a prey to religious dissensions. James I. had taken pains to establish there an all-powerful episcopate, and to introduce the Anglican liturgy. This design is taken up by his son ; but the first attempt raises a tumult ; the Presbyterians combine ; all the country is in insurrection. Charles asks for subsidies in England. The House of Commons replies by complaints on his encroachments and on his abuses of authority. The Scotch army penetrates as far as Newcastle. The king convokes another Parliament (1640). The new House of Commons is wholly Presbyterian. It demands redress of griefs and stimulates the Scotch. While these things are going on, the massacres of Ireland come to reproduce the horrors of Saint Bartholomew. Forty or fifty thousand Protestants are slain by the Catholics, who say they have orders from the king to run to arms. The House of Commons makes a terrible remonstrance to that prince ; on both sides preparations are made for war. Then there begins to appear the sect of *Independ-*

*dents or Brethren of the Congregation.* It was founded in Holland, by John Robinson, head of a society of Brownists, established at Leyden. It is a reform of Brownism, with more moderation in the sentiments, more order in the discipline. Its followers respect the other Churches, support a regular minister, and do not allow individuals to preach in public except with the assent of the heads of the society. They are called *Independents*, because, like the Brownists, they hold that each religious society ought to govern itself without depending on bishops or synods. Their doctrine, moreover, corresponds with that of the Presbyterians, except in some points of small importance. They are established in England as early as the year 1616. Their progress is slow at first. They labour in the shade, on account of the laws against Nonconformists ; then, urged by their trouble, they emerge into full day. Animated by the double spirit of religious and political independence, they are not long in becoming very powerful. The result of the combats is at first favourable to Charles I. The Parliamentarians redouble their vigour. They form an alliance with the Scotch and sign the *Covenant*, in which are stipulated the abolition of episcopacy and the uniformity of the two Churches according to the Presbyterian rite (1643). An Act of Parliament authorises this change of worship and suppresses the *Book of Common Prayer*. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, the principal instrument of Charles in his enterprises against the Presbyterians, is put on his trial after a captivity of four years, condemned to death, and executed for the crime of high treason (1644). The royal army succumbs at the battle of Naseby, the honour of which falls to Cromwell (14th June 1645). Charles, without resources, delivers himself up to the Scotch, who place him in the hands of the Parliamentary Commissioners (Jan. 1647). He escapes ; he is taken in the Isle of Wight. His head falls on the scaffold (Feb. 1649). The House of Commons abolishes royalty, suppresses the House of Lords, and decrees a republic. Ireland rises in favour of the son of Charles I. ; it is subdued by Cromwell. Scotland, in its turn, invites Charles II., prescribing to him to become

Presbyterian, and restricting his authority. The prince arrives at Edinburgh (June 1650). Cromwell advances at the head of an army ; Charles, beaten twice, succeeds in escaping into France. Cromwell dismisses the Parliament, and gets himself appointed Protector of the three kingdoms. (1653). Under his administration, all the Protestant sects enjoy unlimited liberty, except the Episcopalian ; but the Presbyterians, and specially the Independents, have at first the greater part of its favours. In this general toleration, several sects spring up in England or show themselves for the first time, among others, the Anabaptists, the Quakers, the Fanatics of the Fifth Monarchy, the Antinomians.

The Anabaptists of England, who are called *Baptists*, differ in some points from the ancient and modern Mennonites. They are divided into two principal classes—the *Universalist Baptists* and the *Particular Baptists*, both of whom agree in baptising only adults by immersion. The former profess the opinions of the Arminians on free will and on the toleration of all Christian sects ; they are numerous, and dispersed in different provinces of the kingdom. The latter are rigid Calvinists, who believe in predestination ; they follow the same rules and the same worship as the Presbyterians, from whom they are distinguished only by their opinion on baptism ; they are found chiefly in London and the neighbourhood. There are also more modern Baptists, who hold that baptism is necessary only for persons who, not being born in Christianity, wish to be initiated in its doctrines.

The *Quakers*, or *Tremblers*, without rejecting that name, take by preference that of *Children*, or *Confessors of the Light* ; commonly they call each other *Friends*. Their founder, George Fox, a shoemaker by profession, began in 1647 to traverse the country as an inspired teacher. He made many disciples after the death of Charles I., and raised great troubles. Justice is often severely unjust against him and his companions. Cromwell himself fears the violence of their fanaticism, and guards against their undertakings. This fanaticism in time passes away ; they cease to be a cause of disorder in the state and in the church.

The Quakers are a mystical society. Their doctrine on *the Inner Word*, the *Divine Light that is in us*, and on its operations and effects, proceeds from the ancient mysticism, according to which "a certain portion of the divine reason, a spark of the supreme wisdom, is in a latent state in the human spirit." The existence of Christ as man is not an essential point of their theology ; some of them hold that the sacred histories speak figuratively of the Christ that is in us. Their discipline, worship, and religious usages are in harmony with their doctrine. Like other Christians, they hold their religious meetings on the Sunday ; but there is no festival among them, no ceremonies, no positive institution,—all their religion consists in their internal worship. They have no prayers, no hymns, no observances. They absorb themselves in meditation in order in some way to sink into the abyss of the Deity. Every member of the assembly has the right to teach and to exhort ; they observe neither baptism nor the eucharist. These, in their judgment, are Judaic ceremonies, which Christ employed once for all, with the intention of symbolising the mystic purification of the soul and the spiritual nature of the interior man. Their morality requires abstinence from whatever flatters the senses and the passions, or, if abstinence is not possible, severe moderation. They interdict compliments and civilities, address every one by *thou* and *thee*, salute no one, and show no special reverence for magistrates. They do not return evil for evil, carry no complaint, and make no oath before civil judges. Their bearing is grave, their attire simple, their table frugal. Nevertheless, their extreme simplicity has been modified in recent days. The enthusiasts of *the Fifth Monarchy* aim at overturning every form of human government, in the expectation of the speedy coming of Christ, who is to reign over the world. The Antinomians are Calvinists, who, carrying the doctrine of predestination to an extreme, infer that it is useless to exhort men to virtue, or to attempt to turn them from vice, since they will be of necessity these saved and those damned.

In the midst of the violence of these quarrels, wise men wish to interpose as mediators between the Episcopalian on

one side and the Presbyterians and Independents on the other. They are partizans of episcopacy, who do not regard it as a divine institution, nor exclude from their communion those who prefer another form of government and worship. Like the Arminians, they reduce to a small number the fundamental points of Christianity—that is, those that are necessary for salvation, and show that Episcopalian are not separated from Presbyterians and Independents by essential questions. At first their enterprise obtains little success—they are treated as atheists, deists, Socinians. But under Charles II. these *Latitudinarians* succeed to the first dignities of the church. Cromwell, without attaching himself to any of the sects, aspires to dominate them all. Ambition is his leading motive. In the degree in which his own increases, and that he contemplates becoming the head of a new dynasty, he draws near to the Episcopalian, the true column of monarchy. Then also the other sects separate their cause from his. However, he remains all-powerful till death (Sept. 1658); but his son, whom he designates for his successor, soon finds himself obliged to renounce his power (May 1659).

Charles II., in reascending the throne, shows himself a zealous partizan of the Episcopal church. Scotland is obliged to submit to Episcopacy. The Act of Uniformity, passed in 1662, forbids all others but bishops to administer the supper, and requires everywhere the adoption of the Anglican liturgy and "The Book of Common Prayer." More than two thousand ministers are deprived of their functions. The Presbyterians are severely treated, while Catholics make progress. The Scotch in vain attempt to throw off the church which has been imposed upon them (1666).

A secret council, belonging to the king, known under the name of the *Cabal*, is organised in 1670, with the design of establishing an absolute monarchy, and to set up the pontifical worship. That religion is professed openly by the duke of York. Charles II., in order to favour it, grants liberty of conscience to all Christian sects (1672). But Parliament puts forth new laws against the recusant Catholics, and

requires of Presbyterians only the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. Besides these two oaths, a *test* is required of every one who takes any office or receives any dignity. The candidate must produce a certificate proving that he has taken the Lord's Supper, according to the Anglican rite, in presence of witnesses, and declare by writing that in the supper no transubstantiation takes place after the bread and the wine have been consecrated by the officiating priest. It is at this time that the doctrine and discipline of the Quakers take a constant form. Fox is aided in this result by Barclay, Keith, and Fischer. Their sect has much to suffer under Charles II., especially on account of the refusals made by the brethren of giving titles of honour to magistrates, taking any oath (even that of allegiance) and paying tithes to the clergy. The Quakers then seek to propagate themselves in neighbouring countries, where they receive no welcome. Nevertheless, a certain number obtain leave to settle in Holland. But it is in America that their sect prospers the most. William Penn, a member of their body, having obtained from the king and the parliament an uncultivated province in those distant parts, transfers thither a considerable colony of brethren (1680). Peace and abundance reign among them ; they admit to civic rights whoever acknowledges the Supreme Being, and bears his testimony thereto by external worship or by regular morals. In Great Britain the friendship of James II. for William Penn gains for them some toleration about the year 1685 ; under William III. they will enjoy the liberty granted to all sects. In the last years of Charles II. parties are in a state of agitation. Protestants and Catholics accuse each other of conspiracy. Scotland again rises in vain against Anglicanism (1679). The House of Commons proposes a bill to exclude from the throne the duke of York as a Catholic recusant ; a law adds to the Test Act a clause involving the obligation of abhorring popery as idolatry. Charles II. dissolves the Parliament, and governs as absolute master till his death (Feb. 1685). James II. does not dissimulate his intention to restore the Roman Church. He revokes the test, and dispenses the Catholics from the laws that are against them. He pub-

lishes in Scotland, and then in England, an edict which grants liberty of conscience to everyone, and abolishes the penalties against the Catholic recusants. The houses of parliament, the armies, the navies, fill with members of the pontifical communion.

The Anglican Church gives the signal of resistance in refusing to read in the churches the royal declaration on liberty of conscience. All the Protestants are of one mind to invite to the throne William, Prince of Orange, the king's son-in-law. James II., abandoned, takes to flight, and succeeds in passing into France. The parliament removes the Catholics from London; Scotland banishes them, and the Anglicans with them. An act of the legislature excludes every Catholic from the throne, and forbids the king and queen to marry a person of that religion. A law of toleration is passed in favour of Protestant Nonconformists (1688); they are exempted from the penalties passed against them under the reign of the Stuarts, when they failed to take oath and subscribe to the articles of doctrine of the Anglican Church. This act of toleration extends to the Church of Scotland, which restores the discipline of Geneva, and entirely abolishes episcopacy. The oaths of supremacy and allegiance taken to the Stuarts are replaced by an act of the same nature to King William and his spouse. The archbishop of Canterbury, seven bishops, and other ecclesiastics, refuse the new oath, and are superseded by others. The bishops and ecclesiastics deposed constitute what is called *the High Church*. It differs in some points from that church which recognises the established government. The adherents of that high church are designated *non-jurors* (not-swearers) or *Jacobites*. It disappears noiselessly in the course of the 18th century, and henceforward the partizans of the *Low Church* alone constitute the Anglican Church.\*

A conspiracy, formed in 1695 for the return of James II., caused all the Catholics above the age of sixteen to be sent from London. A law of 1697 subjected to the oaths of

\* The distinctions remain to the present hour, only their meaning is altered. High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church now have reference to doctrine, the first denoting an approximation to Romanism, the second Calvinistic tendencies, the third negative tendencies.—*Translator.*

supremacy, allegiance, and the Test Act the Catholics who otherwise would receive inheritances which, in default of compliance with the law, passed to the nearest relative. By the same act, the priests of the Roman Church are banished or condemned to perpetual prison, with the promise of one hundred pounds sterling to their accuser. This law is not rigorously executed ; but during the 18th century the Catholics are often persecuted, especially on occasion of the attempts made by the Stuarts to regain the regal power. For the arch-priests that they had at first appointed for the direction of the Roman Church in England, the popes substituted, about the year 1623, apostolic vicars, having episcopal power, but revocable at pleasure. Under the reign of James II., England is divided into four dioceses, governed by four apostolic vicars. This state of things continues as long as the Roman Catholics are not relieved from all civil and political incapacity.

The partizans of the pope are not the only persons who inspire alarm in the adherents of the Anglican Church. The toleration of the Latitudinarians had opened the way to Arian and Socinian opinions. Rationalism is propagated with the aid of the writings of Clarke, Locke, Whiston, and others. It counts more than one follower among the heads of the official church, but in the lower ranks the fervour of zeal revives and calls forth the Methodists. This religious movement commences after the first third of the 18th century. George Whitfield and the two brothers John and Charles Wesley, are its promoters. They traverse England and its colonies in America, preaching wherever they find an opportunity. Instead of reading according to the Anglican custom, they speak extemporaneously with an excitement which arouses and stimulates their auditors. At first they do not form a separate body ; their disciples receive the Lord's Supper in the established churches, but they are distinguished by their enthusiasm, their rigid piety, and the austerity of their morals. Everything is under regulation with them—the exercises of religion, amusements, costumes ; they are forbidden gambling, the theatre, balls, horse - racing, lace, spirituous liquors, tobacco ;

frequent visits to hospitals, prisons, the abodes of wretchedness, are recommended. The dogma of predestination separates Whitfield and John Wesley. The first holds for the absolute decrees of Calvin ; Wesley adopts the mitigations of Arminius ; hence two branches of Methodists, the adherents of Whitfield and the Wesleyans. The latter are by far the more numerous. About the end of the 18th century, John Wesley presents himself as the head of a new community. Proclaimed the head by his followers, he establishes a special organisation in his Church ; it is by rules of discipline, and not by doctrines, that it most differs from the Anglicans. The Methodists are divided into four classes—men, women, boys, girls—of which each has its meetings and its conferences. These classes are bound together by convergent lines. From confessions or experiences made by member to member or to “class leaders,” which is the starting-point, they rise to weekly assemblies, then to quarterly, and finally to the general Conference, which holds in its hand all the threads of the association. Preaching is the principal duty of the ministers ; they are travelling or sedentary ; the travelling are the most considered and alone compose the general Conference. The Methodists succeed little with the instructed and the people of the world, but they attract the popular classes. In three-quarters of a century, it has become one of the most important branches of Protestantism. It plants its foot everywhere in face of the Anglican Church. Its zeal powerfully conduces to the reform of morals. The complete change of the Bristol colliers and the Cornish miners is a proof of the fact. It is specially in the United States of America and in the course of the 19th century that the Methodists have so greatly multiplied. At the time when Methodism arose in England, a new Church appeared in Sweden. Swedenborg, its founder, was the son of a bishop of the country ; he died in London in 1772 at the age of eighty. This theosophist claims frequent communication with spiritual beings, and numberless revelations concerning worship, the sense of the Scripture, the state of men after their death, heaven, hell, the other worlds and their inhabitants. The

three fundamental articles of his doctrine are : the deity of Christ, the sanctity of the Scriptures, life which is love. According to him, the true Church is in the inner man ; the external Church is nothing. Whoever avoids evil and does good, whatever have been their errors, may be regenerated and come to the light. The disciples of Swedenborg give themselves the name of Jerusalemites ; they believe that their Church is the new Jerusalem indicated in the Apocalypse. This form of religion has few partisans in Sweden, where it was born. It exists in Holland, Switzerland, and, above all, in England. At London, Bristol, Birmingham, Boston, and Manchester they have numerous disciples. Manchester is, so to say, the metropolis of the sect. It has adherents also in the United States of America and in the colonies of England. The Swedenborgians publish in London a journal under the title of *The New Jerusalem*. The spirit of toleration and liberty which made Poland the refuge of dissidents during the sixteenth century was not to perpetuate itself in posterior ages. During the reign of Sigismund III., and of his two sons, intolerance gains the upper hand, under the inspiration of the Jesuits and the Roman clergy ; it becomes one of the principal causes of the ruin of Poland. The Cossacks, Greek Catholics, who served as a rampart to that kingdom against the Muscovites and the Turks, desired to have in the Senate representatives of their nation and their worship ; the Latin bishops refuse it, unless they unite with the Roman Church. Irritated at this injustice, and at the furious proselytism of the emissaries of Rome, the Cossacks give themselves to the Muscovites, enemies of Poland and the papacy (1654). After the death of Faustus Socinus (1604), the Socinians, far from growing weaker in this kingdom, take considerable extension. Their principles are adopted by a great number of learned and distinguished persons. They obtain in the diets liberty of conscience ; they have churches in many cities, seminaries, printing-houses ; they publish a great number of books, amongst them *The Library of the Polish Brethren*. Missionaries are sent by them into Germany, England, Holland ; it is chiefly

among the upper classes that they seek to make proselytes ; contrary to the habitual practice of innovators, they do not address the multitude ; accordingly in most places they obtain only unimportant success. But their establishment in Poland is exposed to the attacks of Catholic zeal, which is seconded by the animosity of Protestant sects. All occasions for injuring them were profited by ; the slightest griefs are transformed into crimes. At last, in 1658, a solemn decree of the Diet of Varsovia banishes them for ever from the lands of the Republic. The penalty of death is appointed for everyone who shall profess their sentiments or give them an asylum. Three years are granted for them to go over to the worship of Rome, or that of Luther or Calvin, or to take the road of exile. This decree is renewed in 1661 ; all the Socinians that were in Poland are unmercifully expelled ; they take refuge in Transylvania, or disperse themselves over Germany, Holland, England. In these three countries they secretly hold their religious assemblies, or mingle with the Churches into which are admitted all who believe in God and in the Gospel. John Biddle establishes at London an independent congregation, which teaches the particular dogmas of Socinianism.

The other Polish dissidents, who had applauded the proscription of the Socinians, saw themselves in the following century, persecuted in their turn by Roman intolerance. They had long been excluded from public employments, finally a law deprives them of their ancient liberties and privileges (1735). But this iniquity becomes a terrible arm against the republic ; the powers who meditate the division of the country decide in favour of the Greek or Evangelical dissidents, and recall Poland to the respect of its fundamental laws (1764-1767). The dissidents, leagued with each other, claim the re-establishment of the liberties and the equality of rights without distinction of opinion or worship ; they place these rights under the protection of Russia, which become their guarantee. The Court of Rome sets itself in opposition to the yielding to the requirements of liberty of conscience and political rights. By a Brief it enjoins on the bishops to sacrifice themselves to the cause of

*God* (1767). The latter, under the influence of the Nuncio, combat the proposed measures. Russia carries off several of the bishops and of the opposing senators. The dissidents are restored to all their rights and privileges by the protection and under the guarantee of Catharine II., and the Protestant powers (1768). Clement XIII. excommunicates those who consent to this regulation. Then is formed the confederation of Bar, to defend the country against the foreigner and the Roman church in the interior. But the confederates, despite their valour, are unable to struggle against the Russians and the Prussians. The first dismemberment of Poland is consummated (1772).

What, however, were the particulars of the religious question in France? The sovereign pontiffs were unable to resign themselves to the liberties of the Gallican Church and to toleration towards the Calvinists; these are two griefs of which they have never ceased to seek redress. After the absolution of Henry IV. at Rome, the priests solicit their recall, and obtain it finally by an edict against which the parliament makes vain protests (1603), but in showing itself easy toward that Order. Henry remains not less faithful to maintain the guarantees which he has conceded to the protestants. At his death the old spirit of the league is renewed. In the States-General of 1614 the Cardinal du Perron declares that "the edicts accorded to the heretics have only suspended the execution of the laws passed against them; that it is only a respite conceded to criminals already condemned, until it is found convenient to lead them to punishment." At the time of the marriage of Louis XIII. with Anne of Austria, the Court of Spain stipulates the expulsion of the Protestants (1615). They are pursued in many places, churches are burnt, ministers put to death.

The Calvinists mingle with the factions of the Court in view of safeguarding their privileges. A resolution of the Council, passed at the request of the clergy (1617) takes from those of Bearn their ecclesiastical property which Jeanne d' Albret had given them in 1669 for the support of the ministers and the foundation of divers colleges. They

withstand this edict, the execution of which remains in suspense until October 1620. Louis XIII. then proceeds to Pau with an army, and puts the Catholic clergy in possession of it. The Protestants alarmed concert one with another. Their deputies assemble at la Rochelle. The king advances at the head of his troops (1621). For the necessities of defence the assembly of la Rochelle divides the kingdom into eight circles, of which each has its own government ; the duke of Rohan is the head of the whole party. The king experiences no resistance as far as Montauban ; he besieges that city, the command of which is in the hands of the marquis de la Force. The defence is vigorous ; at the end of two months Louis XIII. finds himself constrained to retire, after having lost more than eight thousand men. The following year the royal army lays siege to Montpellier, defended by the duke of Rohan. After a long resistance the Protestants obtain a treaty of peace which contains the confirmation of the edict of Nantes and of all their privileges, with a general amnesty for the past (9th Oct. 1623). But this peace is ill observed by the Court. Numerous injuries again impel the Calvinists to take up arms (1625). Beaten on the sea, they not the less conclude peace on the same conditions as before (5th Feb. 1626). The English make on the Coasts of France a demonstration which has no other effect than to compromise the Protestants with the royal power (1627). After their departure Richelieu lays siege to la Rochelle. To reduce it by famine the assailants trace on the landside a circumvallation of four leagues, guarded by forts and redoubts ; on the side of the sea a dike is constructed. The besieged defend themselves with the greatest energy, but at last, all hope of succour being lost and food failing, they are reduced to surrender unconditionally (Oct. 1628). More than fifteen thousand persons had perished by hunger and wretchedness. The fortifications are demolished, the inhabitants disarmed, the Catholic religion re-established within its walls. Meanwhile the war continues in Languedoc, with various success between the duke of Rohan and Montmorency. The king leads an army thither (May 1629). The duke of Rohan submits with all

the country except Montauban, which holds out still some months. An edict of pacification published at Alais, 27th June 1629, grants an entire abolition for the past ; but the Protestants lose all their strong places, and find themselves henceforth at the mercy of the royal power. Nevertheless liberty of conscience receives no injury ; every one may observe his religion in peace. During the minority of Louis XIV. the Protestants do not meddle with the troubles of the Fronde, and Mazarin protects them against all the solicitations of the Roman clergy. At the same time there arise among the Catholics of France dissensions which, without being of a nature to upset the State, do not fail to agitate men's minds strongly. We have spoken of the disputes arising on the subjects of grace and free will, whether between the disciples of Baius and the Jesuits, or between the latter and the Dominicans—disputes to which the popes had not been able to put an end except by imposing silence on the two parties until the matter had been decided by the Holy See. But this decision was not given, and the discussions revived ceaselessly. Louvain was one of the principal seats of the debates. A professor of the university of that city, Jansenius, who more than once had found himself in conflict with the Jesuits, undertakes, in order to oppose their doctrine with more advantage, to put in relief, in an important book, the opinions of Augustin on grace. During the execution of this labour he is promoted to the bishopric of Ypres (1636) and dies the second year of his episcopate. His work appears at Louvain (1640) and afterwards at Paris, under the title of *Augustinus*. It consists, for the most part, of texts from Augustin, which are put in order for the purpose of demonstrating the powerlessness of human forces and the efficacy of divine grace. The author characterises the partizans of Molina as veritable Pelagians. The book, vigorously attacked by the Jesuits, finds zealous adherents in Louvain ; at Paris, its principal defenders are the abbot de Saint Cyran and the recluses of Port Royal.

Duvergier de Hauranne, abbot of Saint Cyran, was an intimate friend of Jansenius, whom he had aided in the composition of his work. For twenty years he lived in

veritable seclusion in the cloister of Notre Dame. Possessor of numerous materials on all points of religion, he undertook to form some disciples of his choice, among whom is Antoine Arnauld, who has been surnamed the Great, his brother d' Andilly, and their five nephews Lemaitre. Mother Angelique Arnauld, abbess of Port Royal, also puts herself, about the year 1630, under the direction of the abbot de Saint Cyran. This family of the Arnauld, of which the head, Antoine Arnauld the father, had successfully pleaded in 1594 the cause of the university against the Jesuits, seemed predestinated to combat their powerful society.

Port Royal was an Abbey of monks of the Cistercian Order founded in 1204, near Chevreuse, six leagues from Paris. It had received from Pope Honorius, among other privileges, authority to furnish seclusion to seculars who took refuge in order to do penance without binding themselves by vows. This monastery had fallen into great laxity, as many others, when Angelique Arnauld is created abbess at the age of eleven years (1602). Six years later, the young superior re-established the rule in all its austerity. The number of the nuns has increased, the buildings are no longer sufficient; moreover they are situated in a damp and unhealthy spot. Madame Arnauld, the widow and mother of Angelique, purchases a house in Paris, in the suburb Saint Jacques, whither all the community repairs in 1625. There remain at Port Royal des Champs only a chaplain and some domestics. The abbey becomes elective for three years, and passes from the jurisdiction of Citeaux to that of the archbishop of Paris (1630). Madame Arnauld, the mother, retiring into the convent, counts among the nuns six daughters and six grand-daughters. The five brothers Lemaitre, her grandsons, have a modest lodging on the outside of Port Royal de Paris, where they live in seclusion with Singlin and Lancelot, disciples, like themselves, of the abbé Saint Cyran. This abbé, having been put into the prison of Vincennes by order of Richelieu (May 1638), their little society breaks up. The brothers Lemaitre establish themselves the following year at Port

Royal des Champs, whither their example attracts successively a certain number of persons : among others d'Andilly, Antoine Arnauld, Pascal, Nicole. They repair a part of the buildings, raise those which are too low, and render the dwelling more healthy and convenient. The recluses afterwards open in the street Saint Dominique, at Paris, schools, where is received a score of boarders. This establishment, which is afterwards transferred to Port Royal des Champs, and in the neighbourhood, is directed by men of high merit, such as Nicole and Launcelot. The nuns, too restricted in the Paris house, send some of the sisters to the monastery des Champs (1648). Several persons of distinction settle in the vicinity, especially after the war of the Fronde, or construct additions on the same lands as the monastery ; others build near the Paris house, to live in seclusion. The book of Jansenius, greatly applauded at its appearance by the Augustinians, or partizans of efficacious grace, finds in the other camp unsparing adversaries. Cardinal Richelieu causes it to be assailed from the pulpit (1642). The Jesuits cabal to obtain its suppression ; they accuse it of dealing blows on liberté, denying that Jesus Christ died for all men, and of reproducing the doctrine of Baius. Urban VIII., influenced by them, renews the bulls of Pius V. against Baius, and forbids disputation on the matter, insinuating that there are in Jansenism propositions already condemned. His decree is badly received at Louvain. In France the Faculty of Theology, not willing to receive it, limits itself to regulating the maxims condemned by Pius V., Gregory XIII., and Urban VIII. (Jan. 1644). Saint Cyran, some months before his death (1643), had engaged Antoine Arnauld to undertake the defence of the *Augustinus*. That doctor publishes, the following year, his apologies of the bishop of Ypres and of the holy fathers, defenders of grace ; with the concurrence of the other recluses of Port Royal he combats the doctrine of the Jesuits and of their adherents. The quarrel becomes warmer and warmer. In 1649 the Jesuits present to the Sorbonne the five following propositions, which they attribute to Jansenius :—1st, There are divine precepts which

the most righteous man cannot observe, whatever his desire and whatever his efforts, if the grace necessary for the purpose has not been given him ; 2d, In the state of our fallen nature we can never resist internal grace ; 3d, To merit or demerit, it is not indispensable that man has a will which is not necessitated to act : a will exempt from constraint suffices ; 4th, The semi-Pelagians, in admitting the necessity of prevenient grace for good works, believed wrongly that man's will was free to resist or obey it ; 5th, It is an error of the semi-Pelagians to say that Christ died and shed his blood for all men, without exception. The party of the Jesuits pursues at Rome the condemnation of the five propositions ; and a bull of Innocent X. of the 31st of May 1653 declares them heretical, without saying in what sense. The Jansenists do not hesitate to acknowledge that these propositions are erroneous, but they affirm that they are not found in Jansenius. The decision of the pope, authorised by letters patent, is published in all the dioceses ; nevertheless, the bishops and the vicars, who hold for Jansenius, make reserves in favour of the doctrine of Augustin. Mazarin did not love the Jansenists, whom he regarded as partizans of Cardinal de Retz. He convenes in the Louvre thirty-eight bishops to put an end to the subtleties by the aid of which it was attempted to elude the pope's bull (March 1654). The assembly declares that the propositions are in Jansenius, if not in terms at least in substance. In 1656 the General Assembly of the clergy confirms this decision, and draws up a formulary against the five propositions, affirming that they are in the book of Jansenius. Moreover, it requests the pope to define that the propositions are condemned in the sense of that author. Alexander VII. (1655-67) in effect declares by a bull that they are found in Jansenius, and that they have been condemned in the sense of his book (Oct. 1656). Different writings are published on both sides on the bulls and on the formulary. At the same time, Arnauld publishes two letters on the occasion of a refusal of absolution, which his relations with Port Royal had drawn from the duke de Liancourt. The adversaries of the doctor adduce two propositions which

they find ill-sounding—one in right, the other in fact. The first says: “The fathers show us a righteous man in the person of St Peter, to whom grace, without which we can do nothing, failed on an occasion when we cannot say that he did not sin.” The second is conceived thus: “We may doubt that the five propositions condemned by Innocent X. and Alexander VII. as belonging to Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, are in the book of that author.” The two propositions are denounced in the Sorbonne—one as identical with the first of the five of Jansenius, the other as contesting a fact consecrated by the pope and the bishops (Nov. 1655). The assembly, in which the enemies of Arnauld bear sway, condemns them both, and decides that if he fails to subscribe to the censure in the fifteenth, he shall be cut off from the body of the Faculty (Feb. 1656). Arnauld refuses to submit; he is excluded from the Sorbonne, as well as seventy doctors who refused to sign the decision. He retires from Port Royal, and hides himself where he can until the peace of Clement IX.

But the disputes between Port Royal and the Jesuits do not turn solely on grace and free will; many other points divide them, especially questions of morals.

In the year 1626, the abbé de Saint Cyran had reprobated, in the Summary of Father Garasse, some propositions of a morality which was anti-Christian. The recluses of Port Royal, in their turn, assail the casuists of the society, in a book entitled *Moral Theology of the Jesuits*, which is attributed to Arnauld (1643). Several works of those Fathers on morals are condemned in 1641 and 1644 by the university and by different prelates. But the most terrible blow is dealt them by the publication of *The Provincial Letters* (1656). Pascal, scrutinising the writings of Escobar and of the other casuists, throws into light the subterfuges of that accommodating morality which comes to an understanding with all crimes and misdeeds, in order the better to secure the influence and the domination of the reverend Fathers. He sets forth their doctrine on actual grace and sins of ignorance, on probable opinions, on the desertion of intention, on equivocations, on mental reserva-

tions, on mental restrictions, on calumny, on false worship to the Virgin, on loose devotion, on release from the love of God, on confession made easy, absolution, penance, and their condescension towards each vice and secret passion. The popularity of *The Provincials* is immense. The work of Escobar, printed thirty-nine times as an excellent book, is pernicious. The parish priests of Paris present to the assemblage of the clergy a request for the condemnation of a certain number of propositions drawn from writings of the Casuists (1656). That assembly, notwithstanding its prepossessions in favour of the Jesuits, appoints commissions to do justice in the case. The society of Jesus finds it necessary to publish an apology for its Causists (1657); that work is censured by the Sorbonne, and condemned by several bishops and the pope himself. If the Jesuits fail in writers strong enough to contend with Port Royal, they have on their side intrigue, calumny, and the power which comes from the direction of consciences. They describe the recluses as heretical and seditious; the queen mother is specially prejudiced against the nuns. An order is obtained for the destruction of the schools. In consequence the masters, the scholars, with all the recluses, are compelled to leave the place. But a miracle comes to the aid of the abbey, the miracle of the holy thorn, the touch of which is said to have cured a young niece of Pascal. The popularity of this prodigy effects at court a revival in men's minds; the nuns are no longer tormented; Arnauld re-enters the desert with Nicole d' Andilly, and Lemaitre de Sacy. Things remain in this state until the general assembly of the clergy in 1660. Then the Government declares that they will have done with the Jansenists. The assembly pronounces new penalties against those who refuse to sign the formulary. Not only the nuns, but the governors and the schoolmistresses are compelled to affix their signatures. The death of Mazarin, which takes place in the midst of these events (March 1661) does not change the feelings of the Court. Louis XIV. has long been ill-disposed toward the Jansenists, whom his confessor, the Jesuit Annat, does not cease to disserve with the monarch. They are suspected in the eyes of

the prince on account of their anterior relations with Cardinal de Retz, and their readiness to receive persons disliked by the Court or fallen into disgrace, who go to seek among them consolations, and sometimes to addict themselves to penitence. A decree in the council orders the execution of the resolutions of the assembly of the clergy relative to the formulary. The nuns of Port Royal persisting in not giving a pure and simple signature, all the boarders and postulants of the two houses of Paris and Des Champs are dismissed, with prohibition against others being received. Equally expelled are the superior and the confessors of the nuns, who are replaced by sworn enemies of the Jansenists. Mother Angelique Arnauld dies about this time (Aug. 1661). The persecutions are a little relaxed after the dismissal of Cardinal de Rets, to be afterwards resumed on new orders. A declaration of the king's prescribes a pure and simple signature (April 1664). The nuns of Port Royal who refuse it are deprived of the sacraments, dispersed, banished. But the clergy's formulary raised objections in many places ; Henry Arnauld, bishop of Angiers, and three other prelates rose in opposition ; the pope would not authorise it. The king, on the urgency of his confessor, requests at Rome a new order to contain the fact and the right, with demand of signature under pain of heresy. The pontiff complies with this petition, adding the obligation of an oath (Feb. 1665). The persecution rages in Paris and in the provinces. A declaration from the king enjoins on the bishops to get the formulary signed without any distinction, explanation, or restriction (April 1665). Some of them require divine faith on the fact as on the right ; others are satisfied with human faith on the fact. The recluses of Port Royal declare themselves ready to condemn the five propositions, in whatever place they appear, observing as to the fact a submission of respect and silence ; they offer to sign the formulary distinguishing the condemnation of the propositions from their ascription to Jansenius, and promising respect and silence in regard to the ascription ; this is what is called signing with a distinction, and keeping a respectful silence as to the fact. The

nuns of the community follow the example of the recluses. After divers vexations, all those who have not yielded are sent to Port Royal des Champs, where they remain until the peace of Clement IX.

Henry Arnauld and the three other Jansenist prelates express in their communications to their flocks the distinction of fact and right. The pope requires their being recalled (1666). On their refusal he, contemning the Gallican liberties, appoints commissioners to draw up their impeachment. A certain number of other bishops write to the court and the pope in favour of the four distinguishers, whose orthodoxy they affirm. The pontiff dies during these proceedings (May 1667).

The persecution nevertheless continues against those who think in accord with the four bishops. The writings which they publish in self-defence are burned by the hand of the common executioner. The recluses of Port Royal are reduced to self-concealment. Lemaitre de Sacy is put into the Bastille, where he remains two years and a half. The courage of the Jansenists is not beaten down. The translation of the sacred books and of the offices of the Church forms another point of dispute between them and the Jesuits. The latter hold, with the Court of Rome, that those books ought not to be read by the common people, nor consequently translated into the vernacular. In this spirit is the *Index of Prohibited Books* made. Accordingly in Italy the translation of the Holy Scriptures without permission, and the divine offices is forbidden; and that permission the bishops have not a right to grant. The members of Port Royal, on the contrary, maintain and spread in France the opposite opinion. In their solitude of the Champs they commence a translation of the New Testament, to which the last hand is put during their dispersion (1666). It is printed at Mons with the privilege of the king of Spain. It is suppressed in France by a decree of the Council (Nov. 1667), and condemned at Rome by a Brief of Alexander VII. Port Royal also translates the Psalms and several books relative to the sacred offices. Its hours (of devotion) are eagerly welcomed. De Sacy, during his captivity in the

Bastille, undertakes an entire version of the Bible, and the work is found completed at the moment when he is set at liberty.

Clement IX. (1667-69) restores peace to the Church. In a letter addressed to the four distinguishing bishops, that pontiff says he has learnt that they signed *sincerely*, instead of with a distinction. The nuns of Port Royal also sign distinguishing the fact from the right, and liberty is restored to them. Death had carried off several recluses of Port Royal during their dispersion, among others Pascal and Singlin. Among those that survive, some return to their solitude. Arnauld inhabits now Paris, now Port Royal des Champs. To exculpate the more effectually the Jansenists from the reproach of heresy which seems to be authorised by their opinion on predestination and grace, which is not without relation to that of Calvin, he at that time publishes divers controversial works against the Protestants; in the number is his book on *The Perpetuity of the Faith*, to which the pastor Claude makes a reply which moves all the Catholic doctors.

Notwithstanding the peace of Clement IX. the Jesuits do not remain less all-powerful at Rome and Versailles. Arnauld is not re-established at Sorbonne, any more than the doctors who have embraced his cause. A decree of the council divides the two houses of Port Royal into two independent abbeys, one at Paris, at the nomination of the king, the other in the Champs, elective for three years (May 1669). In this state Port Royal des Champs subsists ten years. Postulants and Boarders abound. Among the persons who protect this house, the duchess of Langueville is one of the most active and the most devoted. In 1671 she constructs a dwelling at Port Royal des Champs, where she lives a part of the year; but the prosperity of the house does not survive her. The adversaries of the Jansenists impatiently endure the peace of Clement IX. On the urgencies of Du Harlai, archbishop of Paris, the king, by an edict issued at the Camp of Ninove, declares that what was done at the time of the conclusion of that peace is only a favour for some individuals, and is not to lead to any consequences (1676). However the repose of the nuns is not yet troubled, owing to the support of the duchess de Langueville. But after the

death of that princess (April 1679) the archbishop no longer keeps any measures. Strengthened by an order from the king, he expels from Port Royal des Champs all the Boarders as well as the persons who have retired thither, and forbids the nuns to receive novices. The recluses disperse again. Arnauld, who sees himself the object of an active supervision, forms, on secret advice, the resolution of leaving the kingdom. He sets out the 18th June 1679 for an exile, which is to end only with his death (1694). The Court of Rome remains a stranger to these persecutions. It respects the peace of Clement IX. until the year 1705. Then appears the Bull *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*, in which the Pope Clement XI. lays it down that you do not by a respectful silence satisfy the submission due to the Apostolic Bulls. This bull is published throughout the kingdom by order of the Court. The nuns of Port Royal are requested to sign it. They do so, adding to their signature that it is done *without derogating from the peace of Clement IX.* The court, irritated at the reservation, obtains for the suppression of Port Royal des Champs a declaration from the pope that that house is a nest of heresy (27th March 1708). The nuns, to the number of twenty-two, the youngest of whom is fifty years of age, are carried off (Oct. 1709). A vote of the council orders the demolition of the church and all the buildings ; not one stone is left on another. At the end of 1711 the dead are exhumed and conveyed to other cemeteries. The triumph of the Jesuits is complete. At the time of the struggles supported by Port Royal appear the doctrines of Quietism, which aim at lifting you by contemplation to the height of supreme perfection. The soul intoxicated with love gives itself up to God for God's own sake, without fear, without desire, and remains as if sunk in the divine essence. In ancient times examples appear of this contemplative devotion which recall the asceticism of the Hindoo religions. In the fourth century the oriental Church had its Quietists or Hesychastes. Symeon the younger (Xerocerce) teaches in the eleventh the doctrine of mystic love or union with God ; condemned by two councils, he retires into solitude, where he initiates his dis-

ciples in the ascetic life. In the fourteenth Quietism, awakened in the East by Gregory Palamas and combatted by Barlaam, excites disputes in which the Greek Government takes an active part. The West has, in the middle ages, the Begghards and the Beguines. In the thirteenth century there appear in Spain and in other countries the Illumined, and finally the modern Quietists, of whom Molinos is the chief. This Spanish priest spreads his doctrines at Rome, where he draws around him a great number of proselytes. His system is developed by him in a bookeen-titled *Spiritual Conduct*, which obtains great success. According to the author mystical theology is not learnt by study: it is a science of sentiment received from God. The sublimest prayer is silent thought, in which you desire to think nothing. Contemplation leads to the divine union and to internal repose. Absorbed in that union, the soul has no care of the excesses to which the body may give itself up. In 1685 the Inquisition condemns Molinos to perpetual imprisonment, which he endures until his death (1696). Among his followers are Malaval of Marseilles, Desmarests de Saint Sorlin, the Jesuit Guilloré, the Barnabite Lacombe, and in the first position Madame Guyon.

A widow at twenty-five years of age, endowed with ability to speak and write, this lady in a short time gained a great reputation and illustrious friends. The bishop of Geneva, edified by her pious zeal, drew her to Annecy, the place of his episcopal residence (1681). She puts herself into connection with Father Lacombe, who becomes her confessor. Lacombe is interdicted by the bishop. The devotee and her confessor quit Savoy together, and seek to propagate their doctrine in Piedmont and in Dauphiny. Madame Guyon prints at Grenoble her *Short and Easy Means for Making Prayer*. Father Lacombe goes to Paris and there acquires a reputation as a preacher and director of conscience. He is denounced to the archbishop, imprisoned under the *Fathers of Christian Doctrine*, put into the Bastille, banished to Oleron, and finally transferred to Vincennes. Madame Guyon also is arrested a short time after her return to Paris. Liberty is restored to her on the petition

of Madame de Maintenon. She obtains leave to go to Saint Cyr, where her brilliant connection and her exterior of devotion charm everybody and procure her proselytes of a high caste. Then she forms with the abbé de Fenelon connections of friendship, devotion and spiritualism which nothing can dissolve ; unpleasant reports spread themselves. She submits all her writings to the judgment of Bossuet. They have several conferences, and exchange letters. Three commissioners, among whom is Bossuet, are appointed to examine her doctrine. Fenelon takes part in the conferences, which are held at Issy. The archbishop of Paris, without awaiting the issue, condemns divers works of Madame Guyon (Oct. 1694). She retires to Meaux. The meetings at Issy end by the drawing up of thirty-four articles of doctrine on mystic theology (March 1695). Madame Guyon subscribes them, promising not to dogmatise any more. But she does not keep her word and returns to Paris. The court arrests her ; she is taken to Vincennes, then to the Filles Saint Thomas and to the Bastille. During her detention the famous dispute on Quietism between Bossuet and Fenelon takes place. The latter, become archbishop of Cambrai toward the end of the conferences of Issy, had published a book under the title *Explanation of the Maxims of the Saints on the Inner Life*. His adversaries believe they discover there many things which vary from the language of the two mystics. Bossuet speaks with vehemence against the work. The Church of France is divided between the two prelates. A great number of writings are published on both sides. The king bids Fenelon retire into his diocese until a new order. The affair is taken to Rome. The commissioners are not of one mind ; the cardinals divide. Finally after a number of conferences Fenelon's book is condemned by a Brief of the pope (March 1699). The archbishop of Cambrai submits unreservedly. Madame Guyon quits the Bastille in 1702 and lives in absolute retirement until her death (1717) ; she leaves no disciples after her. During the reign of Louis XIV. several differences arise between that prince and the Court of Rome. The first dates from the time of Alexander III., always ill-disposed toward Mazarin and France. Louis XIV., in-

formed that he has spoken freely on his person and government, chose for ambassador at Rome the duke of Crequi, one of the proudest lords of his court, to whom he gives instructions that are little conciliatory. The haughty conduct of that ambassador creates in Alexander and his court an ill-feeling. The soldiers of the pontifical guard, after insulting and wounding some French of the duke's suite, to the number of fourteen, led by their officers, and at the beat of drum, rush on the hotel of the embassy. Several shots are fired on the windows. The carriage of the ambassadress is also fired upon and her page is killed (August 1663). The duke of Crequi retires into Tuscany to await the king's orders. In vain does the pope write several letters of apology ; Louis XIV. threatens to sack Rome, unless he receives a prompt and striking satisfaction. He has the Nuncio conducted to the frontier, sends troops into the duchy of Modena, lays his hand on Avignon and its dependencies. Finally a treaty of peace is concluded, the conditions of which, dictated by the king, are very mortifying for the pope (1664), it is only after their performance that the county of Venaissin is restored to the Court of Rome.

France is on the best terms with the Holy See under the pontificate of Clement IX., and under that of Clement X. This last pope (1670-76) lives in peace with every one in the midst of wars which trouble all Europe. Under Innocent XI. (1676-89) new difficulties arise between the courts of Rome and Versailles. Innocent had a character not less arrogant than that of Louis XIV. Their first misunderstanding arises in connection with the Regalia.

This name was given to a right peculiar to the kings of France, in virtue of which they received the revenues of vacant dioceses, and meanwhile made appointment during the vacancy to benefices dependent on the bishop, when those dioceses did not involve the cure of souls. This right was different from investiture, which concerned only the fiefs, and did not pay the revenues to the king. It went back to the most ancient times. At first it was exacted in all the dioceses, but it was ceaselessly extended until the time of the second General Council of Lyons (1274). A

decree of that assembly, in consecrating the regalia for the places where it is established, forbids, under pain of excommunication, its introduction into churches where it does not exist. In the succession of time, the parliament of Paris, on which the matter depends, ended by considering the regalia as a right inherent in the crown, and applies it to all the churches of the kingdom. This jurisprudence, which is established toward the end of the sixteenth century, occasions active opposition in Languedoc, La Provence, La Guyenne, and Dauphiny, which claim that they are exempt. Henry IV. and Louis XIII. seem willing to restrict themselves to the usages of anterior ages. In 1637 a decree of the council enjoins on the prelates, who declare themselves exempt from the regalia, to produce within six months the titles on which they found their claims. The Grand Council comes to some determinations favourable to the exemption of the churches of Languedoc. But the parliament does not cease to judge, without recognising any exemption, that the regalia is a right inseparable from the crown. Finally, in February 1673, a royal declaration determines that the right of the regalia, inalienable and unprescriptive by nature, extends to all the dioceses of the kingdom, except those which are exempted by some burdensome title. A new declaration is uttered in the same sense in April 1675. All the bishops submit to these declarations except those of Aleth and Pamiers, both of which had been of the number of the four prelates who made declarations in the signature of the formulary. Persecutions are carried on against them. The first dies in 1677 in the midst of those tribulations. The bishop of Pamiers issues the same year an ordinance against the application of the regalia to his diocese. This ordinance is nullified by the archbishop of Toulouse, his metropolitan. The bishop of Pamiers appeals from the sentence to the Holy See. Innocent XI. zealously takes the part of the bishop, and writes several letters to the king to exhort him to recall his declarations on the regalia. The persecutions are only more severe, until the death of the bishop of Pamiers (Aug. 1680), and continue afterwards against divers ecclesiastics of the diocese.

In the briefs sent by Innocent XI. on occasion of the regalia, you find certain passages which seem to deal blows on the liberties of the Gallican Church. Louis XIV. convokes a general assembly of the clergy of France on this subject. This assembly, in which sit thirty-five bishops and thirty-five parish priests, begins by giving entire satisfaction to the king in the affair of the regalia ; afterwards it reproduces, in the celebrated declaration of the 19th March, the principal points of the doctrine of the councils of Constance and Bâle on the ecclesiastical and temporal powers. The four articles of the declaration are expressed in these terms :

1. That St Peter and his successors, vicars of Jesus Christ, and even all the church, received power of God only over spiritual things and such as concern salvation, and not on temporal and civil matters, Christ teaching us himself that *his kingdom is not of this world*, and in another place that *we must render to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to God what belongs to God* ; that thus we must hold to the precept of the apostle St Paul, *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God ; the powers that be are ordained of God ; whoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God* (Rom. xiii. 1, 2). In consequence we declare that kings are not subject to any ecclesiastical power, by order of God, in things which concern temporal matters ; that their subjects cannot be exempted from the submission and obedience which they owe to them, or released from their oath of fidelity ; that this doctrine necessary for public tranquillity, and as beneficial to the church as to the state, ought to be held agreeable to holy Scripture, to the tradition of the fathers of the church, and to the examples of the saints.

2. That the plenitude of power which the holy Apostolic see and the successors of Saint Peter, vicar of Jesus Christ, have over spiritual things, is such that the decrees of the holy OEcumenical Council of Constance, contained in sessions four and five, approved by the holy Apostolic See, and confirmed by the practice of the whole church and of the Roman pontiffs, and observed in all time religiously by the Gallican Church, remain in their force and virtue ; and that

the Church of France does not approve the opinion of those who assail those decrees or weaken them by saying that their authority is not well established, that they are not approved, or that their application regards only the time of schism.

3. That thus it is necessary to regulate the use of the apostolic power by the canons made by the Spirit of God, and consecrated by the general respect of all the world ; that the rules, the morals, and the laws received in the kingdom and in the Gallican Church, ought to have their force and virtue ; and that the usages of our fathers ought to remain unshaken ; that it even concerns the greatness of the Holy See that the laws and customs established with the consent of that See and the churches subsist invariably.

4. That although the pope has the principal part in all questions of faith, and his decrees regard all the churches, and each church in particular, his judgment is not irreformable, if the consent of the church is not given. These are the maxims which we have received from our fathers, and which we have determined to send to all the Gallican churches and to the bishops which govern them by the authority of the Holy Spirit, in order that we all may say the same thing, that we may be of the same sentiments, and that we may hold the same doctrine. An edict of the king orders that these four articles, which contain a summary of the liberties of the Church of France, be published and taught in all the churches of the kingdom.

The declaration of the French clergy is attacked by the partisans of the infallibility and omnipotence of the Roman pontiff. Bossuet undertakes to defend it. Innocent XI., being furious, refuses to give bulls to the ecclesiastics of the Second Order of the Assembly of 1682, when they are promoted to the episcopacy. The king then forbids everybody to apply to the Court of Rome to obtain bulls. Shortly after, another misunderstanding arises between the pope and the king, on occasion of the franchises of the ambassadors. In all countries the hotels of embassies are inviolable asylums ; but at Rome this inviolability extended to the squares and the streets which surround the hotel. Serious abuses resulted as well as the impunity of a crowd of evi-

doers. Innocent XI. abolishes the privileges of the Quarters, and submits to the king the reasons why he acted thus (1686). They were plausible ; but Louis XIV., dissatisfied with the pope, declares that he means to maintain the privileges as an ancient right of his crown. Innocent, also ill-disposed, follows up the affair ardently. A bull excommunicates those who pretend to maintain or favour that right (May 1687). At the same time the pope affects to disapprove the severities exercised against the Jansenists, and even the cruel persecution suffered by the Protestants of France, although the latter had been long prepared for by the Catholic clergy. Lavardin, a new French ambassador, arrives at Rome with the display of a general army, and takes possession of the Farnese palace, as well as all the quarter around (Nov. 1687). The pontiff refuses to receive him as ambassador, and treats him as one excommunicated ; by means of the cardinal vicar he interdicts the Church of Saint Louis, a parish of Frenchmen. Lavardin protests against this procedure ; the procureur-general in the parliament of Paris interposes an appeal to the future council (27th Sept. 1688). In France there arise loud outcries against the pope, whose obstinacy in refusing the bulls leaves thirty-five cathedral churches without pastors. The nuncio is retained prisoner ; the king seizes Avignon.

During this time, Innocent XI. dies. Louis XIV., in order to stand well with the new pontiff, Alexander VIII. (1689-91), gives back Avignon to him and ceases to pursue the affair of the privileges ; but the pope does not relax his tone on the subject of the regalia and the bulls ; on his bed of death, he publishes a decree against the four articles of the declaration of the clergy. Under Innocent XII. (1691-1700), a negociation is conducted during two years for the pacification of the differences. Louis XIV. yields at last. The ecclesiastics appointed to the bishoprics write to Innocent a letter of repentance on the part which they have taken in the decisions of the assembly of 1682, touching the authority of the pope and the Church ; at this price, bulls are granted to them. From this time, the bishops show themselves, at least, indifferent as to the

declaration of 1682 ; but it is warmly supported by the parliaments, vigilant defenders of the Gallican liberties. We have seen that after the pacification of 1629, the Protestants lived tranquil under the government of Richelieu and Mazarin. At the death of the latter (1661), the Catholic clergy resumes its project for the extirpation of heresy in France. Its assemblies of 1665, 1670, 1675, and 1680 present to the king a plan for the subversion of the privileges accorded to the Protestants. The resolution appears to have been stopped in the court in the year 1665. This was a necessary consequence of the autocracy of the pope and the absolutism of the king. Richelieu, absorbed in his designs against the house of Austria, limited himself to putting the Protestants out of condition to defend themselves. Mazarin favourably acknowledged that they had not taken part in the troubles of the Fronde. But Louis XIV., brought up by a Spanish mother, abounds in despotic ideas in spiritual as well as temporal matters. He makes himself the champion of Roman Catholicism, in imitation of Philip II., one of his ancestors. Thence come his wars against the United Provinces, his acts of violence against the Jansenists, his persecutions of the Protestants. Its enemies proceed gradually to the extinction of Calvinism by individual inveiglings, by favours offered to new converts, by hindrances thrown in the way of the exercise of the reformed worship, by the successive withdrawal of concessions. Some regard was at first paid to the représentations of the German Protestants, old allies of France ; but after the peace of Nimeguen (1678), the court freely pursued its enterprises against the Reformation. From 1680 to 1685 coercive means succeed each other without interruption. There are continual restrictions and violations of rights and privileges. New edicts leave in existence only the name of the edict of Nantes. Missions are organised in the provinces ; the missionaries are accompanied by soldiers. In 1681 a veritable persecution is carried on in Poitou and Saintonge. After some relaxation, the secret marriage of Louis XIV. (1684), gives a new impulse to the rigorous measures. Bearn is, in 1685, the theatre of

military executions. The lord-lieutenants of counties are stimulated. Orders are at that time given for the great dragonades (war by dragoons). The assembly of the clergy in 1685 calls forth new measures. The 22d October, Louis XIV. finally revokes the edict of Nantes and all the concessions made to the Protestants. In the ensuing years, other legislative steps are added to the edict of the 22d October 1685 to complete the system of persecution. The churches of the reformed religion are demolished ; the assemblies of Protestants forbidden ; their schools are interdicted ; their children are forcibly baptised and brought up in the Roman Church. The relapsed are subjected to rigorous treatment. The penalty of death is appointed against the ministers who shall be found in France. The Protestants flee in multitudes into other lands ; implacable laws assign to the emigrants the galleys, death, and confiscation of property. The military executions recommence. The persecution rages everywhere with a furious intensity. Protestants of every condition, age, sex, are given up as a prey to the burning zeal of the functionaries, the hateful passions of the Roman clergy, to the violences of a fanatised soldiery ; they have to endure all the afflictions and the tortures, all the horrors and the infamies, which it is possible to imagine. It is by thousands that those are counted who perish in the dangers of flight, by thousands those who are sent to the galleys, by thousands those who perish on the scaffold, in the flames, or under military blows.

The emigration continues seventy years, always ready to be renewed. Seven principal epochs are mentioned : 1666, 1681, 1685, 1698, 1715, 1724, and 1744. Calculation makes it eight hundred thousand Frenchmen that are expatriated, that is one-half of the Protestant population. At first the persecutions produce notorious resistance. People think only of flight. The religious assemblies of the reformers cease in the cities. They meet together only in wild places, thick woods, inaccessible grottoes, where a minister or two, braving death, come to baptise, to administer the Lord's Supper, to exhort the disciples to perseverance. But during the war of 1689, where Louis XIV. has nearly all

Europe under his hand, the rising becomes general among the mountaineers of the Cevennes. The insurgents, known by the name of the *Camisards*, condemn chiefly the Catholic clergy, who have so cruelly maltreated them. Regular troops march against them without much success. Recourse is had to negotiations. Finally peace is restored sooner by favours than by punishments.

From then, the Protestants remain submissive, but still under the blow of the legislation, which replaces the edict of Nantes, and which is confirmed on different occasions. They enjoy considerable toleration under the regency of the duke of Orleans. After the death of that prince, the ordinances and declarations of Louis XIV. are renewed and corroborated. The edict of 1724 is an order for the perpetual banishment of all the fugitive families.

The persecution continues more or less active during the reign of Louis XV. The judicial persecutions do not cease till after the ascent of his successor to the throne. An edict, published in November 1787, re-establishes the Protestants in a better but still precarious condition. It is only in the revolution of 1789 that they recover all the civil rights and entire liberty of worship.

During the second half of the seventeenth century, the Vaudois, who live in the Valleys of Piedmont, are exposed to a persecution of the same nature, and specially in 1655, 1686, and 1696. All their land is a theatre of violence and desolation. There seemed to be a design to exterminate them entirely. Only a small number escape, who owe their lives to the pressing solicitations of the English, the Dutch, and the Swiss. Meanwhile, Jansenism had not been brought to an end by the death of Arnauld and by the destruction of Port Royal. Father Quesnel, priest of the Oratory, became the head of it. This Father had, in the year 1674, published a book of *Moral Reflections on the Four Gospels*. Forced in his turn to quit France on account of his opinions (1686), he takes refuge in Bruxelles, near Arnauld, with whom he keeps company until the last day. It is there that he terminates his *Moral Reflections on all the New Testament*. They are printed for

the first time in 1694, and welcomed with favour nearly general. The Cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, taking the book under his protection, publishes, in his diocese, an edition carefully revised (1699). But the Jesuits make it a duty to prosecute the author and the work. At Bruxelles, they have the credit to get Quesnel put into prison. At the end of some months, he succeeds in escaping and takes refuge in Holland, where he remains till his death (1719). The *Moral Reflections on the New Testament* is condemned by a decree of the Roman Inquisition (1708). That does not suffice for the Jesuits. Louis XIV., at the instigation of Father Tillier, his new confessor, requests from the pope a bull against one hundred and three propositions extracted from that book (1709). Clement XI. (1700-1721), who had already published the bull *Vineam Domini* against the Jansenists, does not lose this new opportunity to assail the Gallican liberties. One hundred and one propositions of Quesnel's book are condemned by the famous bull *Unigenitas*, which, during three-quarters of a century, becomes a ferment of discord in the Church and State of France (16th Sept. 1743). At its appearance, a general cry arises ; the opponents see in it the upturning of religion. Among the maxims condemned by the bull, there are some whose sense is pure and the morality edifying ; others which, to be incriminated, must be taken out of their connection ; others finally which agree with the Gallican principles.

But the Jesuit Tillier masters the king's will and disposes of the vacant benefices. The bishops present in Paris or at the Court are brought together under the presidency of Cardinal de Noailles. Forty prelates formally accept the bull. Nine others, among them Cardinal de Noailles, abstain from taking part in the deliberation, declaring that they will first ask explanations of the pope. Letters patent from the king enjoin on the whole episcopate of the kingdom to conform to the decision of the Forty. The parliament registers those letters under the formal order of the king, but with restrictions and modifications which paralyse its effect (13th Feb. 1714). Most of the bishops decide

like the Forty. Episcopal mandates are put out on both sides, bearing different senses. De Noailles forbids the ecclesiastics of his diocese to receive the bull *Unigenitus*, under pain of suspension. Six bishops reject it purely and simply. A number of ecclesiastics and monks take part against it. Clement XI. excites the Court to extreme resolutions against the opponents. A declaration from the king enjoins on the bishops, who have not yet done so, to receive the bull *Unigenitus* in the same manner as the assembly of the Forty. The parliament raises difficulties as to the registration of that declaration ; Conferences are held, during which the king dies (1st Sept. 1715). The question of the regency brings the duke of Orleans near the parliament and Cardinal de Noailles. Father Letellier is sent into exile. A reaction takes place among the clergy in favour of the adversaries of the bull. The other party moves ; the pope sends briefs on briefs ; but the parliament, which judges them contrary to the maxims of the kingdom, forbids the reception of any without letters patent of the king duly registered. Cardinal de Noailles withdraws from the Jesuits the power to confess, to preach, and to catechise in his diocese. The regent, who does not wish to push things to an extreme, seeks to negotiate with the pope and the bishops of his party, to put an end to these troubles. Four bishops appeal from the bull *Unigenitus* to the future general council (March 1717). Their example has numerous imitators. Soon sixteen prelates are reckoned among the *Appellants*, as well as thirteen thousand priests, three universities, and an indefinite number of laymen ; at Paris specially, the adhesions abound. The constitutional\* bishops put out mandates against the appellants ; the latter lay them before the parliament as abuses, and the complaints are acknowledged. The regent, defeated in his views of accommodation, publishes a declaration of the king to impose absolute silence on the bull (7th Oct. 1717). This declaration dissatisfies both parties. The pope sends out against it a brief, which the Court refuses to receive. The acts of

\* The term constitutional with its derivatives is applied to those who submit to the constitution, institution, or law called the bull *Unigenitus*.

appeal are condemned by a decree of the Inquisition (Feb. 1718), which the parliament rejects. The pope by letters *Pastoralis Officii* excommunicates the opposers of the bull *Unigenitus* (September); from these letters an appeal is made to the future council; a vote of the parliament condemns them (October). Projects of conciliation are still entertained by the regent, on the urgency of Dubois, who wishes to gain a cardinal's hat. De Noailles consents to receive the bull with explanations. This arrangement is accepted by the majority of the constitutional bishops, and by some of the appellants; but the other prelates ardently resist. A declaration of the king's, confirming the letters patent of 1714, prescribes the acceptance of the bull as a law of the state. The parliament refuses to register this declaration. It is sent in exile to Pontoise. It finally consents to the registration, adding that it is done with the same charges, clauses, and conditions as that of the letters patent of 1714, and conformably to the rules of the Church, and to the maxims of the kingdom (4th Dec. 1720). The public infers that the bull has not more force than by the registration of those patent letters themselves. The Cardinal de Noailles adheres to the act of conciliation by a mandate, against which nearly all the parish priests of Paris and of the diocese address remonstrances. The four bishops who had first appealed to the future council, protest in common against the compromise; they confirm and renew their appeal by a public act. More than fifteen hundred ecclesiastics follow their example; they receive the name of *Re-appellants*; they are objects of persecution. However, the Court of Rome itself does not approve the proposed accommodation. Clement XI. is preparing to make a decisive stroke when he is overtaken by death. Innocent XIII. (1721-24) declares himself as of the same opinion; he requires a pure and simple submission to the bull *Unigenitus*. Benedict XIII. (1724-30), formerly a Dominican, is a partisan of the opinions of Augustin on grace. The Cardinal de Noailles submits to him, in twelve articles, an exposition of the doctrine of the Church, on the principal points which form the subject of the hundred and one propositions of Father Quesnel. The pope

does not seem contrary to these twelve articles, but the constitution *Unigenitus* is not less confirmed in a council which he brings together at Rome (1725). By way of compensation, Benedict approves the doctrine of the Thomists on predestination and grace.

The twelve articles find in France adversaries and defenders ; but the Court is not favourable to the Jansenists. Fleury has to pay by persecutions for the cardinal's hat which he receives (1726). One of the four first appellants, Soanen, bishop of Senez, publishes in 1726, under the title of a pastoral instruction, a kind of spiritual Will, in which, confirming what he has done against the bull *Unigenitus* as well as contrary to the bull *Vineam Domini*, he adheres to the doctrine of the twelve articles, and terminates by wishes for the triumph of the truth. The zeal of the constitutionalists is moved, and the archbishop of Embrun, his metropolitan, calls Soanen before the council of the province. His pastoral instruction is there declared scandalous, rash, heretical, seditious, and the author is suspended from his episcopal functions. Cardinal Fleury banishes the aged bishop to the abbey of Chaise Dieu in Auvergne, forbidding him to say mass. The appellants designate this council by the name of Embrun Robbers ; it gives birth to a crowd of writings and protests. The Court is severe against the opposers. Cardinal de Noailles, shortly before his death, allows himself to be drawn to a retraction of his act against the bull. He has for successor an ardent constitutionalist, Vintimille du Luc (1729). General desolation soon reigns in the diocese of Paris. More than six hundred appellant doctors are excluded from the Sorbonne. But notwithstanding prohibitions and persecutions, the Jansenists show the same zeal, and the parliament the same firmness. On the 3d April 1738, the king holds a bed of justice for the registration of a declaration which puts the bull *Unigenitus* in the rank of the laws of the Church and of the State, and which requires from ecclesiastics the pure and simple signature of the formulary, under pain of the loss of their benefices.

The Parliament makes protests and remonstrances against

the declaration. A long struggle ensues between it and the Court ; on one side, remonstrances on remonstrances, protection accorded to the appellants, resolutions against the bull and the constitutionalists ; on the other, decisions of the Council which nullify those of the parliament, admonitions, menaces, strokes of authority, exile of the members of parliament. The Court finally yields, weary of war (Dec. 1732). The parliament continues to rage against the Ultramontane maxims and the bull *Unigenitus* ; the constitutional bishops do not, in their turn, cease to vex the appellants and the Jansenists. The pope, Clement XII. (1730-40), specially occupied with reducing the imposts, and putting down the malversations committed under his predecessor, does not appear to have taken a very active part in the business of the bull *Unigenitus*.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, the cause of the Jansenists was supported by prodigies ; the reader will remember the history of the holy thorn, which for some time suspended the prosecutions against the nuns of Port Royal. In the period of the bull *Unigenitus*, miracles were less likely to fail, since the spirit of opposition had penetrated into the populace, more credulous in proportion to its ignorance. A son of a counsellor of the Parliament, the Abbé Paris had passed a large part of his life in solitude, given up to prayer, to penitential practices, to works of charity. He was an appellant and a re-appellant. The Jansenists regarded him as a saint. Now, every Catholic saint is expected to justify his saintship by miracles, an easy matter when his companions desire them, and possess the requisite faith. On the death of the Abbé Paris, a tomb was raised to his memory in the cemetery of Saint Medard (1727). All those who believed in the saintship of the deacon go thither to make their prayers, and soon the rumour of numberless miracles gets abroad. The partisans extol them, the bishop of Montpellier approves them. The Constitutionalists try to turn them into ridicule ; but their reasonings, which would apply to all miracles in general, are without value in the eyes of the multitude. In the year 1731 the spectacle of the *Convulsions* makes its appearance.

It is a permanent miracle. Frequently, more than a hundred convulsionaries are seen agitating themselves near the Paris tomb. The government puts an end to these public mummeries by closing Saint Medard's cemetery; but the convulsionaries long continue their exercises in secret, despite the prohibitions signified to them. Nevertheless, all the adversaries of the bull did not show themselves partisans of the Convulsions. The pure Jansenists reprove these ridiculous farces, which are the disgrace of their sect. The parliament, while punishing some convulsionaries, do not cease to support the appellants, whose cause, in its eyes, is confounded with the liberties of the Gallican Church. It was, however, severe against the mandates and other acts by which the bishops take pains to support the last appointments of the Court of Rome. Under the ministry of Cardinal Fleury, the constitutionalists had been called to the first places of the Church of France. Vintimille du Luc and Christopher de Beaumont, his second successor (1746), had entrusted the cures of the capital to partisans of the bull *Unigenitus*. As early as 1730 the parliament had felt it a duty to suppress some refusals of sacraments. But in 1750, when the constitutional priests abound in Paris, disputes become warm and frequent on the occasion; now the refusal of sacraments involves refusal of burial. The constitutional priests would not grant the Viaticum, unless the sick person presented a certificate of confession, signed by a priest of their party. The parliament prohibits such certificates, and makes the ecclesiastics who require them liable to arrest. The archbishop supports the priests, who do nothing but obey his instructions. The parliament enjoins on them not to *commit the scandal* again. The intervention of the Court brings parliamentary remonstrances on the danger of schism, the abuses of religion, the spirit of independence, and the unbelief which disputes introduce into the nation. The remonstrances are soon followed by a vote, by which the parliament forbids, under divers penalties, the occasioning schism under the pretext of certificates of confession, the Bull *Unigenitus* and the formulary (18th April 1752). This measure, annulled by the king and confirmed by the

parliament, serves as a rule to the company, notwithstanding the protests of the clergy. On all sides arise complaints touching the refusals of the sacraments. Every week sees a parliamentary order for the communion, and a decree of the council against it. Several episcopal mandates are burned amid the plaudits of the people. The parliament orders the seizure of the temporalities of the archbishopric ; the Court orders their restoration, and sends the parliament into exile (1753). Public favour supports it ; the other parliaments of the kingdom are animated by the same spirit. The parliament of Paris is recalled the next year ; the king restricts himself to prescribing silence on these matters, and good accord among the parties. New refusals of the sacraments on the part of the clergy ; new decrees of repression on the part of the parliament. The Viaticum marches in the midst of staffs and bayonets. The obstinacy of the archbishop leads the court to send him into exile. Other prelates are equally punished. Benedict XIV. (1740-58), declares in a brief that obedience to the bull *Unigenitus* is indispensable to salvation, and interdicts the sacraments to those who will not submit to it. At the same moment the wind turns to the Court, where there is a want of the money of the clergy to carry on war. A declaration of the king orders the submissive reception of the bull *Unigenitus*, although it is not a rule of faith, dispenses the bishops from the law of silence and reserves to the ecclesiastical tribunals the refusal of sacraments, except on appeals of abuse. This declaration, moreover, regulates the police of the parliament, and suppresses the third and the fourth chambers of enquiry. A bed of justice is held for its registration (13th December 1756). Scarcely has the king left the hall when most members of the parliament resign their charge. Their resignations are accepted, the parliament is as good as dissolved. The constitutionalists command the situation. Paris is agitated by the certificates of confession and the refusals of the sacraments. The public excitement produces the crime of Damiens, who attempted the life of Louis XV., (5th January 1757). The resignations are withdrawn in the course of the same year. The parliament returns into

favour, under a promise that it will carry into effect the royal declaration, conformably to the laws, ordinances, usages, and maxims of the kingdom.

The archbishop Christopher de Beaumont, who thinks it his duty to disturb the peace, is banished into Perigard. The disputes of Jansenism remain some time in slumber. Minds are pre-occupied with the affair of the Jesuits, whose suppression is called for by public opinion and pronounced by parliament. In 1767 this company returns seriously to the bull *Unigenitus*. An assembly of the clergy having declared it in 1765, a dogmatic and irreformable judgment of the Church, the parliament annuls that declaration, and renews the law on silence and concord, pronouncing prison and exile on the priests who violate it by refusal of the sacraments.

The suppression of the parliament, which took place four years later, and circumstances more serious, cause this affair of the bull *Unigenitus* to be altogether lost to view. To say the truth, Jansenism had entirely changed its character in later days. No longer did it concern the opinions of Jansenius and Quesnel, or doctrines on grace and free will; the name Jansenist is given to whosoever wishes to limit the authority of the popes; under this relation it is confounded with that of Gallican. During the discussions of the Jansenists and Jesuits, Gallicans and Ultramontanes, a new power had set its foot in the world, namely philosophy, with which all parties will in future have to count.

We have seen that after the capture of Constantinople, the scholars of Greece, settling in Italy, had in that country revived the letters and sciences of antiquity; Plato was replaced in honour; Aristotle was studied in his original works and no longer only according to the scholasticism of the middle ages. The latter, however, still exercised exclusive dominion in the schools. During the sixteenth century the same impulse continues. The learned are divided among Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and the other philosophers of Greece. At the same time, some minds, more original, enter on new paths, among others Cardan, Tilesio, Ramus, Campanella, Paracelsus. The scholastic

philosophy is the object of reiterated attacks, but which do not yet succeed in expelling it from the schools. The Roman Church regards all other systems as threatening novelties. Appropriated to the views of the popes, scholasticism serves them for holding minds in subjection and ignorance. Its credit, always constant in their Church, increases therein after the establishment of the Society of Jesus; the latter adopts scholasticism as a powerful engine of war in its controversies with dissident communions. Its jargon and subtleties are a marvellous aid for embarrassing adversaries, and procuring an appearance of triumph on the part of the champions of the papacy.

Among the Protestants, Luther and Melanchthon, from aversion to scholasticism, desire at first to exclude all philosophy from the Church; reflexion brings them back to other ideas. Melanchthon then composes, for the Lutheran schools, abridgements of nearly all the parts of philosophy. In his eclecticism he draws inspiration from the works of Aristotle, as well as from the doctrine of Plato and the Stoics, adding a little of his own. But this instruction did not reign long alone in the Protestant schools; different doctors explain even the works of the philosopher of Stagira; others exercise the young Lutherans in scholasticism, in order that, with its aid, they might contend more advantageously against the Roman Catholics. In the commencement of the seventeenth century, two classes of philosophers dispute the pre-eminence: the disciples of Aristotle and the Paracelsites or Chemists. The first hold less to peripateticism than to scholasticism. They fill nearly all the academies and the professors' chairs. In their eyes the adversaries of Aristotle are rash, profane, men of perdition. The doctrines of the Paracelsites are propagated in the greater part of Europe by the brothers of *La Rose-Croix*, who accuse the partizans of Aristotle of corrupting philosophy and religion. But the controversy between the two rival sects falls into oblivion at the appearance of Bacon and Descartes; these last make experience and speculation the two keys of philosophy. Francis Bacon, after warm attacks on the scholastics and the brethren of *La Rose-*

Croix (1624) proposes to substitute for their systems something more solid. By the aid of induction, he attempts to reconstruct on experience the edifice of human knowledge ; mathematics give him great aid in the application of this method. His influence is felt specially in England ; Hobbes, Locke, Newton, and others follow the route opened by his genius. Descartes, retired into Holland in order to enjoy greater liberty, produced there most of his works from 1629 to 1649. His method is founded on metaphysical speculation. He sets out with doubt, so as to rise to the highest abstractions of science. This doctrine spreads specially in France and in the United Provinces, meets with able adversaries, Gassendi among others, and ardent persecutors, such as Voët and his adherents ; but a crowd of superior men are formed in his school : Arnauld, Pascal, Nicole, Malebranche, Spinoza, Leibnitz. Scholasticism is for the future ruined in men's apprehensions ; but, sustained by the pontifical Church, it does not the less reign in the schools down to the days near the French revolution. The philosophy of Descartes remains without rival in France during the seventeenth century and the first third of the eighteenth. His hypotheses are opposed to the absurdities of scholasticism ; his method, under the direction of the Jansenists, produces nothing that can alarm Christian thought.

A new era dates from the residence of Voltaire in Great Britain (1727-30). Till then the philosophy, the religious opinions, even the literature of England, were little known on the other side of the Channel. On his return home, Voltaire proclaims the labours and the discoveries of Bacon, Newton, Locke ; the works of Shakespeare, Addison, Pope ; the religious liberty of the English religious denominations. Then the metaphysics of the Cartesians lose their credit. Experimental philosophy becomes the fashion ; enquirers attach themselves to Gassendi, Newton, Locke ; Condillac is the type of the new philosophy. Others pursue the consequences in the direction of materialism, such as la Mettrie, Helvetius, and the author of *Le Système de la Nature*. About the middle of the century the *Encyclopédie* begins to appear

under the direction of Diderot and d'Alembert. This vast repository, which receives materials from all hands, is soon attacked by parliaments and the clergy, Jansenists and Jesuits. Clement XIII. (1758-69) condemns it as pernicious to religion and sound morals (1759).

Jean Jacques Rousseau, born a Protestant and citizen of a free country, tends to ameliorate, not to destroy for the sake of destroying. If he carries reform further than the Calvinists, it is by the application of their principle of free inquiry, and without entirely abandoning the gospel. His profession of faith of the Savoyard Vicar may be accepted by Christians in its essential elements.

Voltaire, retired to Ferney, carries on ceaseless war against superstition and fanaticism. His indignation reprobrates the tortures, the scaffolds, the faggots, the massacres ordered by the priests, his sarcasms and his mockings lay bare ridiculous dogmas, numeries, fables, and legends. He affects, doubtless designedly, to know only one single church, that of Rome; and when he has lashed and destroyed its superstitions and special doctrines, he fancies he has effaced Christianity, which in reality is quite another thing. In place of what he has removed he offers a sufficiently vague deism, which cannot suffice for the religious wants of human societies. He also pretends to address his writings only to the elevated classes, and not to the multitude which knows not how to read or does not read; for it he maintains the necessity of a religious rein. You see him occasionally act as a Catholic and take the mass from the hands of his parish priest for the sake of example. In the period of modern times which we have just gone over we have made no mention of the Greek Church. Since the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, that church remains foreign to that of Rome, from which it is separated by an invincible aversion. Under the Moslem dominion ignorance reigns among the Hellenes, and with it superstition. Its scholars are fled, the schools have fallen, the people, conquered, sink to the level of its masters. This state of things prolongs itself during near three centuries. But in the eighteenth the Greeks begin to rise. In the degree that the Ottoman power declines, oppression

weighs less on them ; they are born to hope ; other destinies are in preparation. After the conquest, the patriarch of Constantinople, elected by the twelve bishops nearest the capital, enters on his functions only after being confirmed by the Sultan. But the ministers of the Porte do not always respect this elective form ; the patriarchal dignity is often purchased with gold ; legitimate patriarchs are sometimes deposed to make place for others who have gained the Viziers by rich presents. Things seem however to pass with more decency in times approaching our own. The patriarch of Constantinople exercises considerable power. He is as the head of the nation. The election of other patriarchs is confirmed by him. Nothing important is done in the Church without his order and permission. He convokes councils to decide controversies, and to give their advice on ecclesiastical affairs. He administers justice among the Christians of his Communion, and takes cognizance of the civil causes which concern them. His authority, acknowledged by the Sultan, is, in the eyes of the faithful, corroborated by the excommunication which he can hurl on those who disobey him. The revenues of this patriarch are drawn from the churches dependent on him, and vary according to the condition in which they are. His pre-eminence is acknowledged by the Melquite patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem ; but these three prelates are very poor, and at the head of a very small number of disciples. The Menophysites or Jacobites always abound among the Christians of those regions.

In the sixteenth century, the Lutherans attempt to put themselves into relations with the Greek Church, who share their aversion to the pope of Rome. Melanchthon sends to Constantinople a copy of the confession of Augsburg. The patriarch Joseph dispatches his deacon to Wittenberg, to inquire about the doctrine and the spirit of the Lutheran Church (1559) ; matters do not proceed further. The theologians of Tubingen seek to renew the connection with Jeremiah, successor of Joseph : but all is limited to an exchange of letters (1576-81). The spirit of reform, however, penetrates as far as Constantinople under the patriarch

Cyril Lucar. Born in Candia in 1573, Cyril had studied in Italy, and visited Germany, where he had learnt to relish the doctrine of the new Churches. He is promoted to the patriarchate of Constantinople in 1621. His relations with the Protestants continue. He conceives the design of bringing the dogmas and the rites of the Greek Church to the purity and simplicity of the Gospel. The bishops and the clergy rise against him. He is deposed and exiled to Rhodes. Restored some time after by the medium of the English ambassador, he prints new catechisms and publishes a profession of faith which approaches the Protestant doctrines. He is banished to Tenedos and afterwards recalled. After having been several times driven away and restored under divers influences, he is at last strangled by an order of the Sultan (1638). His confession of faith is anathematised in two councils of Constantinople, in a council of Jassi, and finally in 1672, in the celebrated council of Jerusalem. After the conversion of the Muscovites, their church long depended on the patriarch of Constantinople. It was governed by a bishop of the choice of that patriarch, who nominated the successor at each vacancy. This state of things does not vary so long as those people live under the domination of the Tartars. But when they have thrown off the yoke, it seems to them hard to depend on the patriarch of a country where the Turks are the masters. The patriarch Jeremiah, whom a rival wishes to dispossess of the See of Constantinople, having come to levy contributions among the Muscovites, the latter request him to institute a patriarchate in their countries. Jeremiah yields to their wishes, and in a council held at Moscow, raises to the patriarchal dignity Job, archbishop of Novogorod (1589). However the Muscovites do not then cease to recognise the supremacy of Constantinople. The new patriarch takes rank in the Greek Church after that of Jerusalem. The election of his successors must be sanctioned by the patriarch of Constantinople, to whom each of them pays five hundred ducats of gold in acknowledgment of his supremacy. These arrangements are then ratified in a Council of Constantinople (1593). But towards the middle of the following century,

at the solicitation of the grand duke of Muscovy, the patriarchs of Constantinople and of the East release that of Moscow from the double obligation of having himself confirmed and of paying tribute to Constantinople. The Muscovite Church then becomes independent without ceasing to be united in communion with the Greek Churches who call themselves orthodox. When the patriarch has to be replaced, the bishops and the principal members of the clergy assemble at Moscow and present two or more candidates to the Czar; he whom the latter chooses is then consecrated by the bishops.

However, the patriarchal dignity soon gives umbrage to the civil power. Nikon, promoted in 1652, at first enjoys all the confidence of the prince. That illustrious prelate cleanses the Muscovite worship of various superstitious practices, introduces singing after the example of the Greek Church, and restores to their purity the Slavonic Scriptures, of which many passages had been altered by the transcribers. But in the sequel, Nikon falls into disgrace with the Czar, who fears the prerogatives and the authority of the patriarch. On a charge of having received money from the Poles, that head of the church is deposed and confined in a cloister (1666). About the same time there appear in Muscovy sectaries who give themselves the name of the elect, but whom their opponents call seditious (Raskolniki). These separatists, finding fault with the doctrine and discipline of the official church, profess an extreme attachment for the letter of Holy Scripture, and declare that an absolute equality should prevail among the disciples. Their practices are rigid and their morals austere. In vain are all means employed to reduce them. Guile and violence fail for the purpose. Sanguinary measures only strengthen the schism. At last they are left at peace. The name of Raskolnikis is now given in Russia to all dissident sects.

Despite the prejudices of the Czar against the Patriarchate, a successor is given to Nikon. That dignity subsists to the reign of Peter the Great; but on the death of the patriarch in office (1702), the abolition of it is declared. There is

substituted, under the title of Very Holy Synod, a religious council composed of fourteen members, whom the Czar chooses among the bishops and the archimandrites. This council regulates the ecclesiastical discipline, presents candidates for the bishoprics, and consecrates those of whom the prince has made choice. Moreover, it decides religious causes in the last issue, regulates the revenues of monasteries, and superintends the distribution of alms. The other Orders of the clergy are maintained in their respective functions and rank, but their revenues are reduced.

Liberty of conscience and worship is granted to all Christians: the Jesuits alone are excepted and expelled. The same toleration is maintained under the successors of Peter the Great. Catharine II. gives entire liberty to all religions and all sects. The victories gained over the Turks by her armies and fleets deliver the Ottoman Empire over to her discretion. The Sultan obliges himself by treaties to protect the Greek Church in his states, and the sovereigns of Russia superintend the execution of these engagements. Since the Turks are masters of Constantinople, the See of Rome has more than once attempted to make conquests from the different churches or the Greek or oriental communion. Under the reign of John Basilides, overtures are made by the pope for the reversion of the Muscovite Church. John, who was then carrying on an unfortunate war against the Poles, seems to relish the proposition. He sends a solemn embassy to Gregory XIII. (1580). A negotiator sent by the pope to Moscow obtains all he wishes from Basilides, under the condition of procuring for him an advantageous peace. The Poles accede to the desires of the Roman pontiff; but the Czar, delivered from perils, laughs at the promises received by the pope and his negotiator.

The Court of Rome succeeds better with the Greek Catholics, who are in the Polish possessions. A union is concluded by the governmental influence with the Lithuanian Greeks (1590)—a union which most of them desert afterwards; but a certain number remain faithful. The latter are known under the name of *United Greeks*; the others

are termed *Not-united* or *Dissident*. Among the Greeks who depend on the patriarch of Constantinople, as among the oriental dissidents, the Roman missionaries, with much trouble and expense, found a few societies which receive the doctrine of the pope and submit to his jurisdiction. But these conversions or unions are not always solid, although at Rome there is much lenity toward the oriental rites and dogmas, when the authority of the pope is acknowledged. Some small churches of the Latin rite are established in certain islands of the Greek archipelago. The successes of the Roman missionaries among the Monophysites or Jacobites of Asia and Africa are insignificant. The Nestorians of Chaldea, about the middle of the seventeenth century, divide into two parties, having each its bishop. One of these prelates, in order to sustain himself better, goes to Rome and acknowledges the papal supremacy. His successors, designated Simeon, remain attached to the Roman See until 1653. At the end of the seventeenth century the emissaries of the pope gather a handful of Armenians in a small church, of which the patriarchs who are called Joseph reside at Ameda or Diabekir, and continue to our days. Some Armenians, united with the Latin Church, have an archbishop at Nachtchivan on the Don, and another in the marshes of Venice.

We have before said a word or two of the suppression of the Jesuits. It is proper to enter into some details on this matter, and to throw a glance on other religious corporations of the Latin rite during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Pascal has laid bare the moral theories of the Jesuits : their conduct in all places appears corresponding thereto. Their conflict with Jansenism has shown us their artifices, their intrigues, their spirit of domination and persecution ; we shall find them the same in the other regions of the globe.

The Court of Rome, in the sixteenth century, made efforts —little fruitful—to spread the gospel in distant lands. It renews them in the seventeenth with more vigour and success. A congregation or commission for the propagation of the faith is instituted in Rome by Gregory XV. (1622). Urban

VIII. adds thereto a seminary destined to the education of those who devote themselves to the work of missions (1627). In France, too, a congregation and a seminary of foreign missions were founded (1663). Other less considerable societies are formed in various parts for the same object. The Jesuits and the other Orders take care to always have a good number of monks ready for foreign service. In different parts of the world are spread swarms of missionaries, taken mainly from the Jesuits, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Capucins. The rivalry of the Orders frequently occasioned division among them. Reciprocal accusations are made. Specially are complaints made against the Jesuits. They are reproached with corrupting the doctrine of the gospel in order to gain their ambitious ends ; with lending themselves to the tastes, opinions, prejudices of their proselytes, with acquiring immense riches, with insinuating themselves into the favour of the great by intrigue and flattery ; with sowing divisions and civil wars ; with obeying neither the pope nor his apostolic vicars or bishops acting in his name.

In the East Indies, where the people, prejudiced against strangers, have an extreme veneration for the Brahmans, the Jesuits present themselves as descendants of Brahma ; they, like the Brahmans, have garments of silk, wear on the skin a cord composed of a certain number of threads, walk with a stick of nine knots, rub their foreheads with cow dung, make frequent ablutions. Baptismal fonts and confessionals are set up for the pariahs, and others for the superior castes. They indulge new Christians in a crowd of idolatrous practices.

China is the principal country where the zeal of the Oriental missionaries exercises itself. Thither in the beginning of the seventeenth century flock missionaries of all Orders. But the most important success has been obtained by the Jesuits. Their talents and their skill secure them great credit in the imperial court ; they induce the prince to issue a decree which leaves all the Chinese free to embrace the Christian religion (1691). These Fathers are permitted to construct a church in the enclosure of the

palace (1700). Their enemies accuse them of gaining acceptance by assimilating the gospel to the doctrine of Confucius, by promoting the progress of human knowledge rather than that of religion, and by intruding into the affairs of the empire with the aid of intrigue. The monks brought up amongst them are reproached with carrying on traffic of all kinds, and with employing shameful means for ingratiating themselves with the spirit of the people, and so promoting their fortune. But the greatest crime imputed to them is that of mixing the Chinese superstitions with Christian truths, tolerating in their proselytes certain religious customs of the country, adopting the sacrifices offered to Confucius and to ancestors, and even with authorising their disciples in taking part in the worship of idols, provided that a cross is hidden under the flowers. These practices, denounced at Rome by the Dominicans, are condemned by the holy office (the Inquisition), whose sentence is confirmed by Innocent X. (1645). The Jesuits maintain that the observances were not religious worship but solely civil and political usages. Three apostolic vicars are sent into China with an episcopal character (1684). After several years of examination, they publish a mandate which interdicts the practices and usages adopted by the Jesuits. The latter hold firmly to their position, and openly assail the apostolic vicars. A decree from Clement XI. forbids the Chinese Christians to observe the religious rites of the country and the ceremonies celebrated in honour of Confucius and ancestors (Nov. 1704). This document is communicated to the Jesuits by Cardinal de Tournon, who goes to China as the pope's legate (1706). But that prelate, after having undergone all kinds of bad treatment, dies banished at Macao (June 1710). Finally Clement XI. publishes the bull *Ex illa die* which solemnly proscribes all Chinese superstitions and idolatries (20th March 1715). Another legate repairs to China to see to the execution of that bull; he is constrained to return to Europe without having obtained anything. He discloses to Rome all that the Jesuits have done. Innocent XIII., prepared to punish them, is overtaken by death (March 1724).

At the same time a conspiracy of the Jesuits against the reigning emperor causes them to be banished from China, and draws down on the Christians there a persecution which paralyses all the efforts of the missionaries. The bull *Ex illa die* is confirmed by Benedict XIV. in 1742. Christianity had also made its way into Japan, where it gathered a great number of proselytes. But in 1615 the Government publishes against the new religion an edict which is executed with extreme rigour, and causes the death of a very great number of Japanese Christians. Christianity is destroyed in that empire, access to which is forbidden to all Europeans.

In the West Indies we find the Jesuits in struggle with the other monks and with the ecclesiastical superiors. They constrain Palafox, bishop of Angelopolis, in Mexico, to live hidden in the mountains in order to shelter himself against their blows (1648). Paraguay becomes the principal seat of their power in South America. About the middle of the seventeenth century they make themselves master of a vast and fertile country. They have under their orders eight thousand Indians formed to the military exercises of the Spaniards. These troops aid them to subdue the surplus of the population and to enrich themselves with the product of its labours. After divers struggles against the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, they remain the sole possessors of important regions, where, during a century, they continue to extend from day to day. In 1750 Spain and Portugal determine by a treaty the limits of their respective territories in South America ; the Jesuits become alarmed for their republic ; they have recourse to risings, and put themselves at war against the Spanish and Portuguese troops. This audacious enterprise, in creating against them an adverse feeling in the Courts of Lisbon and Madrid, becomes one of the principal causes of the ruin of their society. Ardent defenders of the omnipotence of the popes, whom Catholic governments would no longer tolerate, the disciples of Loyola could but succumb.

They are driven out of Portugal, as a consequence of a conspiracy against the king, in which three of them are

implicated—Malagrida, Souza, and Mathos (1759). Their property is confiscated, and about six hundred Jesuits are landed on the coasts of Italy. The pope, refusing to authorise by a brief the trial of Malagrida before the ordinary tribunals, their prosecutors, in order not to violate the privilege of regular clergy, are content with giving up that Father to the Inquisition, which burns him as a false prophet, impious, and visionary (1761).

This business strongly agitates minds in France. The Parliamentists and the Jansenists thunder against the disciples of Loyola. At the same time there takes place the bankruptcy of Father Lavalette. Head of a mission in the Antilles, that Jesuit had profited by the advantages of his position to establish an immense commerce in Martinique. His speculations, long successful, are at last traversed by striking reverses. In 1755 the English took from him, before any declaration of war, some vessels and several millions of merchandise ; he made a failure of three millions (1761). The compromised merchants addressed themselves to the society for the payment of the debts. It refuses, offering to get mass said for their benefit. Brought by them before the Parliament of Paris, it pleads that Lavalette has transgressed the laws of his Order, and produces them in testimony. Nevertheless a decision condemns it to reimburse all the liabilities, forbidding the Jesuits to meddle with operations of banking and commerce. The parliament then examines their laws and regulations, which had never been approved in France. After this it receives the appeal from the Procureur-General against all the bulls, briefs, and privileges of the popes in favour of the Society of Jesus, whose existence is declared perilous to the authority of the Church, the Councils, the Holy See, and to sovereigns. The books of its doctors, both moral and theological, are condemned as containing doctrine seditious, abominable, homicidal, and dangerous for the life of citizens and the person of princes. The works of twenty-four of their principal writers are burned by the hand of the common executioner. All Frenchmen are forbidden to send their children to their colleges and to enter their institutions. The bishops take

steps in favour of the society in vain. The court is divided into contrary parties. The king requests the pope to modify in some points the laws of the Jesuits; it is replied, "*Sint ut sunt aut non sint*" (*Let them be as they are, or let them not be at all*). Louis XV. at last consents to let the parliament have its own way.

On the 6th of August 1762, a decree justifying itself at length, pronounces the suppression of the Order of Jesuits, with a severe prohibition to all and each, to inhabit its houses, to wear its dress and distinctive marks, and to observe its regulations. Similar decrees are issued by the majority of the parliaments.

The Jesuits burst out into loud and violent language against the parliaments. The parliament of Paris, treating them as seditious, orders each of them to renounce the institution within a week, under pain of exile; the majority refuse; banishments succeed.

The Court of Rome did not abandon the Jesuits; but its power was no more than a shadow. Clement XIII. limits himself to protest in a secret consistory against the decisions of the parliaments, and in virtue of his full power (he says), he declares null all their acts concerning the Society of Jesus (3d September 1762). He testifies his dissatisfaction to the members of the clergy who are not in its favour. On the contrary, the parliament prosecutes those who defend it. It has burnt in 1764 a pastoral letter of the archbishop of Paris, which censured the Acts of the Government against the Jesuits, and denounced to the king the prelate as fanatical and factious. The archbishop is imprisoned in the Abbey de la Trappe. An edict of the king abolishes their society in all the kingdom, nevertheless permitting those who composed it to live as simple individuals.

The pontifical court strongly felt the rebound of all these measures; it was that court that the civil power had in view in attacking its zealous defenders. Clement XIII., in the beginning of 1765, issues the bull *Apostolicum Pascendi Munus*, in which he extols the society of Jesuits. This bull is suppressed by a decree of the parliament of Paris; that of Provence tears it into pieces and burns it by the hand of

the executioner. It is not better received in Portugal. All the Catholic governments at that time claim, as inherent in sovereign power, the right of giving the *exequator* (leave for execution), for the documents that come from Rome, and that of authorising with them the exercise of the annunciation ; it is all over with the supreme authority of the popes. The Jesuits are expelled from all countries. Even Spain takes part against them.

During all the seventeenth century, that monarchy had shown itself faithful to the traditions of Philip II. ; the Inquisition was supreme. The Cortes had in vain requested its reformation in 1608. Far from consenting to it, Philip III., yielding to clerical inspirations, had expelled from the kingdom the Moors, who had been converted under Ferdinand V., but who were accused of still being Moslems at the bottom of their heart (1640) ; more than a million of subjects had emigrated—labourers, artisans, manufacturers, negociants. Spain, so brilliant and glorious in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, had sunk under the yoke of the monks, and each day its life was ebbing away. New maxims might have been introduced with the princes of the house of Bourbon ; but when the grandson of Louis XIV. was called to the throne, France itself was a prey to Catholic fanaticism. The Protestants underwent a persecution there which reproduced all the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition. The example of his ancestor acted on Philip V. If he does not always show himself the docile slave of the Holy Office, if you even see a grand inquisitor arrested by his orders, none the less do the *autos-da-fe* \* continue ; sixteen hundred individuals are burned under his reign, and twelve thousand are subject to severe penance. Nevertheless, during the second half of the eighteenth century, the influence of Philosophy makes itself felt even in the peninsula ; and the Inquisition, still cruel and oppressive, is compelled to forbid itself the pleasure of funeral piles. Now, in the very time when the Catholic princes of Europe pronounce against the Society of Jesus, its members are found implicated at Madrid

\* Acts of Faith, that is, burning men and women to death on account of their religious opinions.—*Translator.*

in an insurrection raised by a brief of Clement XIII. The Spanish Government immediately banished them from its vast estates (1767). They are all arrested the same day, and transported into Italy, where the pope himself refuses to receive them. All the princes of the house of Bourbon follow the example of Spain. The parliament of Paris hastens to banish those monks, declaring them enemies of the person of sovereigns, and of the tranquillity of States. They are equally expelled by the Government of the two Sicilies, and the following year, by the duke of Parma and Plaisance, the Spanish *Infante*.\* During many years, this duke of Parma had laboured for the interposition of the abuses of the Court of Rome. In 1768 he publishes a pragmatic *Sanction* † which puts the finish to the measure. The pope issues a brief fulminating against this document, excommunicates the duke, and renews his pretensions of temporal sovereignty over Parma and Plaisance. France, Spain, Naples, and Portugal, declare against the Brief, which they suppress in their states. Spain demands, moreover, the entire abolition of the Society of Jesus in all Christendom, and even refuses to receive the pope's nuncios; it charges the king of the Two Sicilies to seize Beneventum and Ponto Corvo; Louis XV. seizes Avignon and the county of Venaissin. At the same instant, the governments of Milan and Modena seek a quarrel with the pope, touching the administration of Nunciatures and the levy of imposts on the clergy. The Empress Maria Theresa suppresses the Bull *In Cœna Domini* in the duchy of Milan. The Venetians regulate by an edict the state and discipline of the regulars or monks.

The reforms which the governments effected then on their private authority and despite the pontiffs, were, in great part, those which the princes and the bishops had in vain solicited in the Council of Trent. Ganganielli, supported by

\* A title borne in Spain and in Portugal by the youngest sons of the king; the eldest of his sons bearing the title of Prince of Asturias.

† That is, order, or ordinance in public affairs, a name given to the ordinances of the kings of France, and to the resolutions of the Diet of the German Empire, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. History has consecrated the title to certain famous political acts.—*Translator*.

the Bourbons, becomes pope under the name of Clement XIV. (1769-74) ; he had promised to abolish the Jesuits. The conciliatory spirit of the new pontiff smoothes down the difficulties by means of reasonable concessions. He permits the secularisation of the regulars who made vows before the age of reflection. The difference with Parma and Plaisance is terminated by a distinction between the spiritual and the temporal. The bull *In Coena Domini* is not published in the Jubilee of 1769. A commission is appointed to give a verdict on the fate of the Jesuits. The general of the Order and his assistants are imprisoned in the castle Santo Angelo. Finally, the pope issues the famous bull *Dominus ac Redemptor*, by which the Society of Jesus is abolished for ever (22d July 1773). At the time, it had twenty thousand members. Its goods are consecrated to pious and charitable foundations. Clement XIV., in signing the bull of abolition, said to the ambassador of Spain, who pressed him the most, that it was to sign his death-warrant. He expires the 22d Sept. 1774, poisoned, it is said. The spirit of the time, to which the Jesuits were sacrificed, was not much more favourable to the other religious Orders. Although the approach of reform had introduced a little more decency among the monks, they were, nevertheless, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, still very distant from the spirit and the rule of their society. Divers attempts are made at the time to apply a remedy. The Benedictines are the first to reform several monasteries. The monks of Cluny and Citeaux, the regular Canons, the Dominicans, and the Franciscans imitate their example. The monastic Orders are then divided into two classes ; the reformed, who have suppressed abuses ; and the non-reformed, who continue to live in the pleasures of the world. The latter are the more numerous ; and the majority of the former tend to gradually fall back into their old disorders. Among the reformed monks, certain societies of Benedictines are distinguished by the excellence of their rules. The most celebrated is that of Saint Mark, founded in 1620 by order of Gregory XV. The learned labours of its members have rendered great services to the republic of

letters. Nevertheless, these divers attempts at reform, which did not bring back the primitive austerity, are far from satisfying rigid spirits. A more radical plan is proposed ; the Jansenists adopt it, and introduce it into some houses. The convent of Port Royal follows it with great success. Several monasteries enter on the same way. But they are all surpassed by the Abbey de la Trappe, in which the most rigorous discipline is established by Bouthillier de Rancé. This Order is perpetuated under the name of *Benardins Reformés de la Trappe*, but in moderating, it is said, the austere rule of its founder. The society of *L'Oratoire de Jesus* is instituted in France by Pierre de Berulle on the model of that of Philip de Neri (1611). This Order produces a great number of persons illustrious for their piety, their knowledge, and their eloquence. Its primitive object was the reformation of the second order of the clergy ; but giving more extension to its plan, it embraces the study of polite literature and theology. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, it is charged with the education of youth. The Order of *Prêtres de la Mission* is founded in France by Vincent de Paul, and erected into a regular society by Urban VIII. (1632). The members are bound to consecrate eight months in the year to the instruction of country people, to terminate their differences, to succour the poor and the sick. There is also placed under their direction the convents of the *Filles de la Charité*, instituted also by Vincent de Paul, in union with Louise de Gras (1630), and approved by Clement XI.

The *Frères and Sœurs des Ecoles Chrétiennes et Pieuses* are formed into a society in the year 1678 by Nicholas Barre, they are devoted to the education of the infant poor of both sexes. From the time of the pontificate of Clement XIII., monkism experiences considerable changes and reverses. The monks and nuns are the first struck by the reforms introduced by the secular power. A great number of communities are reduced or entirely suppressed. The monks are subjected to taxes ; the power to acquire is restricted in their case ; the use of claustral prisons is interdicted ; the age for taking vows is advanced ; the

number of their novices is limited, &c. :—all things which are the presage of a complete suppression. After the abolition of the Society of Jesus, the Bourbons do not push any further their victory over the Court of Rome. But the impulse was given ; the other Catholic courts follow the traces of the French Jansenists.

The emperor Joseph II. aspires to the entire ruin of Ultramontane principles (1781). He forbids the publication of any document from Rome without the authorisation of the government. The monastic Orders are subjected to the jurisdiction of the ordinary. He forbids them to correspond with superior foreigners. The reception of novices is suspended until a new order. A great number of converts and entire societies are suppressed. The colleges of the missions and the seminaries are removed from immediate dependence on the Holy See. The emperor reserves to himself the disposal of episcopal sees and benefices ; he subjects the bishops to an oath of fidelity. The franchises of the holy places are restricted. The law rules the external discipline of marriage ; recourse to Rome for matrimonial dispensations is forbidden. The bulls *Unigenitus* and *In Coena Domini* are rejected. Toleration is established for all Christian sects in countries governed by the emperor ; the Jews are lifted from their low condition.

The Court of Rome utters loud cries. Pius VI. (1775-99) goes to Vienna, where he is welcomed with much deference, but without gaining any concession. After his departure, Joseph II. pursues his reforms. He puts down the begging Orders and takes possession of their revenues. He abolishes the prerogatives of the Nuncios, who are no longer considered anything more than diplomatic envoys.

The proceedings of Austria find zealous imitators in the states of Italy, Venice, Genoa, Naples, Modena, and specially in Tuscany ; the grand duke Leopold takes for his model in all things the emperor, his brother. The Inquisition is abolished in Sicily. Portugal and other countries of Europe take part in the same way in the government of their churches. Soon, however, a reaction begins in divers places. The imperial innovations encounter, in 1786, a

letter. Nevertheless, these divers attempts at reform, which did not bring back the primitive austerity, are far from satisfying rigid spirits. A more radical plan is proposed: the Jansenists adopt it, and introduce it into some houses. The convent of Port Royal follows it with great success. Several monasteries enter on the same way. But they are all surpassed by the Abbey de la Trappe, in which the most rigorous discipline is established by Bouthillier de Lasset. This Order is perpetuated under the name of *Discordia Réformés de la Trappe*, but in modernizing, it is said, the austere rule of its founder. The society of *L'Oratoire de Jesus* is instituted in France by Pierre de Bérulle on the model of that of Philip de Neri (1611). This Order produces a great number of persons illustrious for their piety, their knowledge, and their eloquence. Its primitive object was the reformation of the second order of the clergy; but giving more extension to its plan, it embraces the study of polite literature and theology. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, it is charged with the education of youth. The Order of *Pretres de la Mission* is founded in France by Vincent de Paul, and created into a regular society by Urban VIII. (1632). The members are bound to consecrate eight months in the year to the instruction of country people, to terminate their differences, to succour the poor and the sick. There is also placed under their direction the convents of the *Filles de la Charité*, instituted also by Vincent de Paul, Louise de Marillac (1633), and approved by Urban VIII. (1634).

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number of their novices is limited to 1000, which are the vestiges of a complete suppression after the abolition of the Society of Jesus, the Brothers in 1804 had any further their territory over the limits of Rome. But the impulse was given: the other Catholic orders follow the traces of the French Jansenists.

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discipline of marriage. recourse to Rome for matrimonial  
dispensations is forbidden. The male *Imperium* and the  
*Coena Domini* are rejected. Instruction is prohibited for  
all Christians who are converted by the emperor  
from their low condition.

the new world from their low condition.

strong resistance in the Austrian low countries ; an insurrection breaks out in 1789. Leopold, successor of Joseph II., succeeds in pacifying Belgium by re-establishing everything on the old footing. Reforms are no longer tolerated by the Tuscan people. At the approach of the French Revolution, which threatens all, the pope and the sovereigns feel the necessity of agreement to safeguard their common despotism ; Rome makes some concessions of small importance ; the princes renounce their ideas of reformation.

## CHAPTER III.

FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO OUR OWN DAYS.

(1789-1870.)

**SUMMARY.**—The French Revolution—Abolition of Tithes and other Ecclesiastical Imposts—The Property of the Church Transferred to the Nation—Suppression of Orders Involving Perpetual Vows—Civil Constitution of the Clergy—Refractory Priests—Suppression of all the Religious Corporations and Secular Societies—Insurrection of La Vendee—Worship of Reason—Festival of the Supreme Being—Thermidorian \* Reaction—The 18th Fructidor—The Republic at Rome—Pius VII.—The 18th Brumaire—Concordat—Organic Articles—Imperial Coronation—Israelite Worship—Disagreement between the Pope and the Emperor—Rome United to the Empire—Pius VII. at Savonne—National Council at Paris—Pius VII. at Fontainebleau—New Concordat—The Bourbons—Clerical Reaction—Societies of Women—Law on Sacrilege—Revolution of July—Saint Simonism—Religious Associations of Men—Second Empire—Italian Restoration—Pius VII. at Rome—The Jesuits Restored—Insurrections at Naples and Turin—Leo XII.—Pius VIII.—Gregory XVI.—The Austrians in the Legations—The French at Ancona—Pius IX.—War of Austria and Piedmont—The Minister Rossi—Pius IX. at Gaeta—Rome a Republic—First French Expedition—War of France and Piedmont against Austria—Kingdom of Italy—The Patrimony of Saint Peter—New French Expedition—The Italians in Rome—War of Spain—Ferdinand VII.—The Cortes Abolished—Insurrection of 1820—French Expedition—Isabella II. and Don Carlos—Reaction of Isabella—Insurrection of Cadiz—Fall of the Bourbons—Election of Amadeus of Savoy—Eastern Church—The Russians—Kingdom of Greece—Christians of Turkey—Christianity in Germany—Philosophy—Strauss—The School of Tübingen—Christianity in England—Abolition of the Laws against the Roman Catholics—Ecclesiastical Province constituted by Pius IX.—Anglo-Catholicism or Puseyism—The High Church—Unitarians—Christianity in the United States—Calvinists—Anglicans—Methodists—Lutherans—Unitarians—Catholics.

THE French Revolution, in founding a new order of things on the basis of liberty and equality, was sure to have for

\* Reference is here made to the change made on the calendar by the French Republic. The new calendar, consisting of months, each of thirty days, named after atmospheric qualities and products, began at the autumnal equinox, and consisted of twelve divisions of thirty days each, with five or six supplementary days. Thus Thermidor was heat-month, and Fructidor, fruit-month. —*Translator.*

enemies all that was privileged in the ancient forms of government, dynasty, priesthood, nobility. But of its adversaries, the most formidable will arise in the ranks of the clergy, who mix ceaselessly in the popular masses, whose educators they are. It will be easy to persuade them, especially in the rural parts, that religion is compromised by measures which in reality affect only the material interests of the sacerdotal caste. The Constituent Assembly in France begins by the abolition of feudalism and the prerogatives which it constituted for the nobility and the ecclesiastical body. In the immolation of the 4th August 1789, there disappeared tithes of every kind and the imposts which held their place, the casual rights of the priests of the country districts, annates, and the other taxes paid to the Court of Rome, or established in favour of bishops, archdeacons, archpriests, chapters, primitive vicars, and other members of the clerical order.

The clergy may have resigned themselves to those suppressions for which compensations were promised ; there still remained in its hands considerable power and immense riches. But another decree put all ecclesiastical property into the hands of the nation, with the charge of providing for the costs of public worship, the support of its ministers, and the succour of the poor (2d November). Some weeks later it is decided to sell by competition four hundred millions in order to meet the pressing wants of the State. Then the clergy protest on all sides. A cry arises in the multitude that the intention is to annihilate the Catholic religion. Blood flows in different places. The Constituent Assembly, pursuing its work, abolishes all the orders and monkish societies of both sexes in which solemn vows are taken. Their members are authorised to leave the monasteries and religious houses under promise of a suitable pension (13th Feb. 1790).

An attempt is then made to harmonise the organisation of the secular clergy with the new institutions. A decree of the 12th July, known under the name of the civil constitution of the clergy, contains arrangements, which without assailing the dogmas, are a kind of return to the usages

of the primitive church, as well as to the principles of the pragmatic sanction ; the concordat of François is disallowed in it, as the discipline of the Council of Trent, which France has never admitted. The ecclesiastical offices of bishop, curé, and vicar, are the only ones which the decree upholds. For the one hundred and thirty-five dioceses it substitutes eighty-three, one for each department, which are divided into ten metropolitan districts.

The cathedral church is, at the same time, parochial. The bishop, its sole immediate pastor, has vicars who serve with him, sixteen in the cities above ten thousand souls, twelve in the others ; they are chosen by the bishop among all his clergy. In each diocese there exists one single seminary, administered by a superior vicar and three directing vicars, all subordinate to the bishop ; he appoints them with the aid of his council. That council consists of the vicars of the cathedral, and of those who are at the head of the seminary. The one and the other can be displaced only by the advice of the council itself, and on the hearing of the cause. The bishop can exercise no act of jurisdiction without having deliberated with them.

A new division of all the parishes is to be made.

Provision is made for the bishoprics and the curés in the elective form, by scrutiny and the absolute majority. The election of bishop is made by the electors who name the members of the departmental assembly ; that of the curés by the electors who appoint the assembly of the district.

Canonical confirmation and consecration are given to the bishop by his metropolitan, or, if a metropolitan see is in question, by the oldest bishop of the district. Before his consecration, the elected bishop promises on oath taken publicly, to watch with care over the churches of his diocese, to be faithful to the nation, the law, the king, and to maintain with all his power the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by the king. The new bishop cannot ask of the pope any confirmation ; but he writes to him as the visible head of the universal church in testimony of the unity of faith and communion which he ought to maintain with him. The elected curés are canoni-

cally instituted by the bishop. After their appointment they take the same oath as he ; till then, they can exercise no ecclesiastical function. Each curé chooses his vicars among the priests of the diocese ; he cannot unseat them except for reasons judged legitimate by the bishop and his council. This civil constitution, prepared by ecclesiastics of the Constituent Assembly, men, pious and nurtured in Jansenist and Gallican ideas, placed the French clergy in absolute independence in regard to the see of Rome. While prescribing the acts of defence for the pope considered as the first of bishops, it denied him all jurisdiction in the Church of France. At the same time, the election secured the independence of the bishops and the curés in regard to the civil power, and opened the path to men of merit to rise to the first ranks of the hierarchy. The inferior clergy finally found themselves protected against the ill-will or the caprice of the dignitaries of the Church, by the obligatory intervention of the episcopal council in every act of jurisdiction. The reduction of the number of dioceses and a new division of the parishes were agreeable to the ancient traditions of the Church, which regulated those territorial limits on those of the empire. The oath of fidelity to the temporal power had been long taken ; and that which the new decree prescribed had in it nothing that could wound consciences.

The principles of election which was employed was perhaps the best means of reconciling the Catholic Church with the spirit of modern times ; it ought, one would think, to have found a welcome in the ranks of the secondary clergy. Adhesions more numerous, surely, would have been given if things had been entirely under different relations. But, as a consequence of the decisions previously rendered, the sacerdotal caste had ceased to form an order in the state, of which it had been the first ; it lost the tithes, and a multitude of benefices ; its property passed to the nation. These measures had created in most of the ecclesiastics a lively sentiment of animosity against the new form of government. They could not forgive the sale of their goods, and took pains ceaselessly to excite the fana-

ticism of the most superstitious provinces. The civil constitution gave new arms to their opposition. They pretend that the authority of the pope has been entrenched on, and make an appeal to the Holy See. Thirty bishops, members of the Constituent Assembly, protest while demanding that the Church of France and the Court of Rome should be consulted. They are joined by nearly all the bishops: mandates are spread everywhere. It is declared that the deprived bishops will yield only to force, and that they will continue their functions in private houses. Pulpits and confessionals stimulate the passions. Rome, which feels itself threatened in its powers, foments the discord secretly. Troubles burst out in several departments. This resistance irritates the national party. All the ecclesiastics in office are required to take, within the prescribed time, if not already taken, the oath put forth by the civil constitution under pain of being considered as having resigned (27th Nov.). The oath, regarded as an act of adhesion to the new decrees, becomes the signal of a religious schism. In the Constituent Assembly the ecclesiastics of the Left side take it, to the number of a hundred, the bishop of Autun at their head; those of the Right side refuse. Retractations taking place among the former, their number is reduced to seventy. In all the kingdom there are only four prelates that abide by the oath. Most of the curés\* act in the same manner. Constitutional bishops and curés are put at the head of the churches, but the refractory are allowed to exercise their worship apart.

The constitution of 1791, sanctioning the principles put forth in the preceding decrees, declares that the law no longer recognises religious views or any engagement contrary to the natural rights or to the constitution; that every man is free to observe the religion to which he is attached; that property, appropriated to the expenses of worship and to all services of public utility, belongs to the nation, which may dispose of it at all times; that the

\* A curé in French is not a curate in the English sense of the term, but he who has the cure (*cura* Latin, *care*) of souls, the parson.—*Translator.*

citizens have the right to elect or choose the ministers of their worship. Pius VI., at the instigation of the French clergy, publishes several briefs to anathematise that constitution and condemn all the acts of the National Assembly. He enjoins on the ecclesiastics who have taken the *impious* oath to retract, and, in defect of doing so, declares them illegitimate, schismatic, heretical, and sacrilegious. The bishops of France, different from those who had taken the oath, accept that judgment, as well as one hundred and thirty-five prelates of Catholic countries. A decree of the Constituent Assembly forbids the reception and publication of briefs, bulls, rescripts, and other documents of the Court of Rome, unless authorised by a special law (9th June 1791). The people burn in the Palais Royal the briefs and the effigy of Pius VI. Avignon and the county Vinaissin are declared integral parts of the French empire (14th Sept.). The Legislative Assembly meets on the 1st of October. It occupies itself first with seeking a remedy for the troubles excited in several departments under pretext of religion. The refractory priests, characterised as dark conspirators, do not cease to excite the people against the bishops that have taken the oath ; they renew the baptisms, the marriages, and other sacraments administered by the latter. The Vendean peasants followed at a distance the recalcitrant priests to take part in their mass. Civil war seemed imminent. A decree of the Assembly enjoins on the refractory to take the civic oath within a week, under penalty of being deprived of what they severally receive from the public treasury, and prescribes other measures against those who refuse the oath or occasion troubles (29th Nov.).

The king, surrounded by opposing priests, refuses his sanction to the decree. Pius VI. addresses new admonitions to the constitutional bishops ; he threatens with the pains of the Church all authors or supporters of the civil constitution of the clergy, and exhorts the Catholic powers to combine for the extinction of the philosophy of France. The priests that have not taken the oaths raise movements in all places, and openly conspire against the laws of the

country. The Legislative Assembly gives, in certain cases, to the departmental administrations, the right to condemn them to transportation as a measure of public safety and of general police (27th May 1792.) The king refuses his sanction.

This double veto, which suspended decrees relative to priests who fostered public disorders, has a place in the number of griefs which call forth the insurrection of the 10th August. The insurrection issues in the fall of Louis XVI. All powers are concentrated in the hands of the Assembly.

A decree of the 18th of the same month suppresses all the religious corporations and secular societies of men and women, whether lay or ecclesiastic, even those which are devoted only to the service of the hospitals and the succour of the sick, as well as all confraternities, the penitents of all colours, pilgrims, and all other pious associations. The property of these corporations and societies is declared national. Means of subsistence are supplied to their members. Ecclesiastical and religious costumes are abolished and prohibited for both sexes, except for the ministers of all forms of worship during the exercise of their functions.

By the terms of another decree (26th Aug.) the ecclesiastics subject to the oath who have not taken it or have retracted it, as well as the priests not subject to the oath, but who have occasioned troubles, and whose removal is requested by six citizens of their department, are obliged to quit the kingdom in a fortnight, under pain of being apprehended and conveyed to Guyane ; those who return shall be detained during ten years. Persons that are ill and sixty years of age, are exempted from these measures, and confined in a common house in the chief city of the department.

Under the rule of the Convention, the furies of the civil war and the perils of the foreign war, cause rigorous measures to be taken against the priests that have not taken the oaths, who are regarded as the instigators and encouragers of both. The departments of the West, excited by them, begin to agitate at the end of 1792, under the protest

that religion is destroyed. The levy of three hundred thousand men (24th February 1793), brings the rising of La Vendee. Implacable decrees succeed each other against the refractory ecclesiastics. However, the Convention had not yet changed anything in the laws of worship issued by the Constituent Assembly. The priests who had not taken the oaths were prosecuted as conspirators and rebels, rather than on account of their religious opinions. But the hate which they inspired in the partisans of the revolution fall back on the whole Catholic Church. The constitutional priests themselves were not always free from suspicion or tranquil as to their fate. A certain number of them are eager to renounce the priesthood, and to take to wedlock. The Convention favours the tendency ; it exempts from banishment and seclusion the married priests, and those whose banns are published (25 Brumaire, haze-month, year II.) ; an annual allowance is granted to the ecclesiastics who lay down their condition (2 Frimaire, frost month). The Commune of Paris, more intolerant, interdicts out of the temples the exercise of all religious worship (23d Vendemaire, vintage month, year II.) It suppresses the external signs and forbids selling in the streets all kinds of *juggleries*, such as *holy handkerchiefs*, *handkerchiefs of Saint Veroniques*; *Ecce Homos*, *Crosses*, *Agnus Dei*, *Virgins*, *horns and rings of Saint Hubert*, as also, *Powders*, *Medicinal Waters*, and other adulterated drugs. Gobel, bishop of Paris, and his Vicars repair to the Convention, escorted by the principal members of the Commune, and declare that they abdicate their ecclesiastical functions (17 Brumaire). The president replies that liberty of worship is entire for all sects, but that it is impossible not to applaud those who abjure their superstitions and errors. The Commune of Paris announces that no longer do they acknowledge any worship than that of Reason. The districts, renouncing Catholicism one after the other, take possession of its edifices and its treasures, as forming part of the Communal domain. They send to the Convention the church ornaments, the saints, the vases, the silver cases, the reliquaries, &c., to be consecrated to the defence of the country. A number of silver vases are sent by the depart-

ments. Rich spoils flow from all sides to the bar of the Convention, who depose them in the mint. The Commune transforms the church of Notre Dame into a temple of Reason, and institutes a festival destined to replace the ceremonies of the Catholic worship. All the districts are present at the first Festival of Reason (20th Brumaire). The goddess is represented by a handsome young woman. Girls, clad in white and crowned with roses, escort the ancient seat on which she sits. After having pronounced a discourse and sung hymns in the temple, the attendants repair to the National Assembly. There the goddess receives the embrace of the president. The Convention allows itself to be drawn to follow the procession, which returns to the temple to sing a patriotic hymn. The festivals of Reason are reproduced in the majority of the Communes (parishes). These altogether pagan representations attract populations accustomed to the external pomp of Roman Catholicism. But in the bosom of the Convention voices arise to blame the acts of violence committed against that form of worship, and the substitution of new superstitions for the old ones. The Commune of Paris is accused of arrogating to itself a kind of legislative authority. The Assembly, declaring for religious liberty, forbids the plate which still remains in the churches, to be touched. The festivals of Reason are abolished ; but the Catholic worship is not restored ; its promoters lie under suspicion. The committee of public safety think of replacing it by Deism, as the official religion. On the motion of Robespierre, the Convention decrees by acclamation, that the French people recognises the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul, and that worship most worthy of the Supreme Being consists in the practice of man's duties. It institutes for the Decades Festivals, the name of which is borrowed from the ideas of the time and the most important virtues. The 20th Prairial, a solemn festival is celebrated in honour of the Supreme Being, in which Robespierre, elected president of the Convention, goes forward at the head of the Assembly, and plays, in some sort, the part of the sovereign pontiff. The decadal festivals continue after the events of the 9th.

Thermidor. A platform is raised, on which dancing and music, as well as moral exhortations, combine in such a way as to leave useful and agreeable impressions on the spectators.

None the less is liberty maintained for all forms of worship. But a decree of the last days of year II. declares that the republic does not pay any ; the adherents of this form of worship or that must defray the costs of royalty.

Under favour of the Thermidorian reaction, nobles and priests return into France by the frontiers of Switzerland. On the side of Lyons there are organised companies of the Sun and of Jehu, who slaughter the patriots in the rural districts or in the prisons. The priests that have come back spread in the Eastern provinces, and, seconded by those of the refractory, who have not quitted France, again administer baptism to children, who have received it from constitutional priests, re-marry the married, and stir up the population, in order that it may get possession of the churches. Then the Convention puts into operation the laws against the emigrants and the refractory priests (12th Floreal, year III.). The constitution of the 5th Fructidor of the same year again consecrates the principle that all forms of worship are free, but that the State pays none. Their exercise is regulated by the laws of the 3d Ventose, year III., and of the 7th Vendemiaire, year IV., which subjects them to a supervision, consisting of police measures and intended to secure general safety. The civil constitution of the clergy is abrogated, in fact, in a good part of its regulations. None the less the constitutional Church survives. It takes the name of Gallican Church, provides for its own wants, and continues the struggle against the Church of the priests, who have not taken the oath. These are more popular, especially among the inhabitants of the rural districts ; in certain parts they alone prevail. Under the Directory there appears a new form of religion, patronised by la Riveillere Lépeaux, one of the members of the Government. For the cérémonies of the Catholic worship he wishes to substitute meetings devoid of superstitious practices, without external pomp, in which there shall be instructions in religious and moral

thoughts. The societies of the theophilanthropists are established by his impulse. You hear in their assemblies edifying discourses, philosophical lectures, pious hymns. But this sect gains little public attention ; it is an object of the sarcasms of the Voltarians and the royalists. Meanwhile the electors of the year V. had introduced into the councils a majority hostile to the revolution. A great number of emigrants, furnished with false *passe-ports* and false certificates of residence, return by way of Holland, Alsace, Switzerland, and Piedmont, with the design of restoring the monarchy by means of the intrigues of the interior. The priests especially return in crowds. The devotees welcome them, build them chapels in their houses, and make collections for them from house to house. They do not recognise the boundaries established by the Constituent Assembly ; prelates in relations with Rome clandestinely administer the old dioceses. The party of the counter-revolution are in movement on all sides, with hope in their hearts. On the 7th Fructidor a law is passed which abrogates all the decrees carried against the refractory priests, and restores them to their rights as citizens. The coup d' etat of the 18th of the same month destroys all these measures. The ecclesiastics and the emigrants regain the frontiers for a new exile. The Directory is invested with power to banish the priests who disturb the public tranquillity in the interior. Those who are authorised to remain in France are to take an oath of hatred to royalty and anarchy, of fidelity to the republic and the constitution of year III. ; fresh transports to Guyane are decreed.

The Directory favours the constitutional priests who are devoted to the republic. A council of that communion is assembled in Paris, seventy-two ecclesiastics, of whom twenty-six are bishops, meet in the Church of Notre Dame. Everything is reduced to the expression of the republican sentiments of the Assembly, complaints against the priests that have not taken the oath who disturb the dioceses, and mislead the faithful, to projects of re-union and religious pacification for the whole Gallican Church, to attacks on Ultramontanism and the temporal authority of the pope.

At the time of the first Italian expedition, Pius VI. had taken part against France. Bonaparte, after the capitulation of Mantua, invaded the pontiff's estates, and compelled him to seek peace. By the treaty concluded at Tolentino, the Court of Rome renounces all its rights over Venaissin, and cedes to the Cispadine republic the legations of Bologne and Ferrara, with the province of Romagna ; it also engages to pay twelve millions to France (1st Ventose, year V.). The Cisalpine republic adopts, in religious matters, the principles of liberty proclaimed by the French law. Its clergy show no opposition. Cardinal Chiaramonti, bishop of Imola (who will soon be Pius VII.), delivers, on Christmas Day, 1797, a homily in favour of the new democratic government. The spirit of liberty penetrates even into the pontifical states. Ancona becomes a republic by its own act. The partizans of the pope get up an agitation in Rome ; General Duphot is killed in a sedition, not far from the palace of the French ambassador ; the latter withdraws into Tuscany. A body of French troops enters Rome (10th Feb. 1798). The republic is proclaimed there ; most of the cardinals and prelates are banished and dispersed ; Pius VI. is conducted into Tuscany, and then to Valentia, where he dies, the 29th August 1799. A conclave held at Venice chooses the Cardinal Chiaramonti, who takes the name of Pius VII. (11th March 1800—Sep. 1823). Italy being evacuated by the French, the pontiff regains possession of the Roman States, of which the legations are again detached by the victory of Marengo. At the time of the coup d' etat of the 18th Brumaire year VIII., religious liberty was entire. The government, supporting no worship, limits itself to a superintendence of public order. The Catholic Church divides into two unequal parts, the Constitutionalists or Gallicans and the Ultramontanes. What resolution will Bonaparte form ? Will he maintain the government then existing ? Will he declare himself for any form of worship, whether Gallican, or Ultramontane, or Protestant ? The reply to these questions depends on the political system which he proposes to establish. If he has the intention of found-

ing liberty in France, he will continue the existing state of things, and at least make choice of a free communion like the Reformed Church, or an independent one, like the Gallican Church. But the new Cesar accounts as an enemy every spirit of independence and liberty. The religious autocracy of the Roman pope offers itself then as his natural ally. The First Consul soon enters into negotiation with the Vatican. Matters, however, do not go on as fast as might be wished. Rome opposes difficulties of detail, and temporises in order to obtain better conditions. In the interval the constitutional clergy make a last effort. After holding divers diocesan or metropolitan councils, he convenes in Paris a national council (June 1801). The assembly consists of forty-five bishops and eighty priests deputed by the dioceses. The spirit of conciliation reigns there. The public conferences attract crowds of people. But the Concordat is signed at Paris the 26th Messidor, year IX. (15th July 1801), and confirmed by the pope the following 4th of August ; the Constitutional Council sees itself obliged to dissolve.

This treaty made with Rome raises strong opposition among the Republicans, principally in the army, in the Council of State, and in the tribuneship. To reduce the last assembly to powerlessness a fifth of its members are eliminated (Jan. 1, 1802). The Concordat is adopted by the legislative body, the 18th Germinal, year X. (8th April 1802), as well as organic articles, in the drawing up of which Rome has not concurred. During these delays the mortal remains of Pius VI. are transferred from Valentia to the pontifical city.

The Convention of the 26th Messidor declares that the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion is that of the great majority of the French, and regulates the conditions of its establishment. The exercise of it shall be free, and the public worship, by its conforming, to the police regulations. A new division of the dioceses shall be made by common accord. The pope will ask of the actual bishops the sacrifice of their sees. The first Consul shall appoint the archbishops and bishops of the new division ; canonical

institution shall be given by the Holy See, according to the forms anciently established for France. The bishops and the ecclesiastics of the second order shall take the oath of fidelity in use under the royal government. The bishops shall make a new division of the parishes of their dioceses, which shall be submitted for the approbation of the government. The bishops shall nominate the curés, but their choice must receive the approbation of the civil power. They may have a chapter in their cathedral, and a seminary for their diocese, without the government being obliged to endow them. All the churches not alienated and necessary for worship shall be placed at the disposition of the bishops. The pope sanctions the alienation of ecclesiastical property. The government will secure a suitable salary to the ministers of worship. Foundations in favour of the churches shall be authorised. The organic articles which were voted with the Concordat are in agreement with Gallican principles. They regulate the relations of Church and State, the rights and duties of ecclesiastics of different Orders, the form and the conditions of worship, the boundaries of the bishoprics and the parishes, the edifices destined for worship, the payment of the ministers. The following arrangements, among others, deserve notice. No bull or other document of the Court of Rome can be received, published, or put into execution without the sanction of the government. The same sanction is necessary for the exercise of the functions of a nuncio or other delegate of the pope, for the publication of the decrees of foreign synods, for the holding of any national, metropolitan, or diocesan council. There shall be an appeal to the Council of State in the case of abuses on the part of ecclesiastics. Every privilege involving exemption or concession of episcopal jurisdiction is abolished. The prelates may, with the authority of the government, establish in their dioceses cathedral chapters and seminaries. All the other ecclesiastical establishments are suppressed. The doctrine of the declaration of 1682 shall be taught in the seminaries. The curés are immediately subjected to the bishops in the exercise of their functions. The vicars and assistants whom the bishop appoints and revokes are placed under the supervision and direction of the curés.

There exists only one liturgy and one catechism for all the Catholic churches of France. No festival, except Sunday, can be established without permission of the government. No religious ceremony can take place out of the churches, in the cities, or in the temples intended for different forms of worship. The nuptial benediction shall not be given till after the proof of the civil marriage. The rest of the public functionaries is fixed for the Sunday. Ten archbishoprics and fifty bishoprics are established in France. Every civil district contains at least one parish, and as many chapels of ease as need requires. No church or chapel of ease can be erected without the authority of government. The foundations in favour of worship or of its ministers shall consist only of payments by the State. The ministers of worship shall possess in that quality no other immovables than the parsonages and the gardens attached.

It will be remembered that the principal griefs put forward against the civil constitution of the clergy were the reduction of the number of the dioceses, the obligation to take an oath, the alienation of the ecclesiastical property. Now, after the acts of the year IX. and the year X. the number of the dioceses is only sixty, while the Constituent Assembly had established one for each department ; the ecclesiastics are required to take the oath of fidelity in use under the old government ; finally, the pope consecrates the alienation of the goods of the church. The French clergy then gained nothing in these matters in the new state of things, but it lost the independence secured to it by the system of the Constituent Assembly. With the regulations respecting the organisation of public worship, the government had transmuted into law organic articles for the Protestant forms of worship. They are conceived so as to leave the least possible liberty to the churches of the Reformation. In execution of the Concordat, the pope demands their resignation from the old bishops. The Constitutionalists give it with the exception of one. Among those that had not taken the oath, thirty-seven refuse it. A bull suppresses the old sees, and creates sixty new ones, to which

the government names twelve constitutional prelates, with seventeen prelates and thirty-one refractory priests. In the number of the prelates that had not taken the oaths, and who refused their resignation, thirteen took refuge in England ; they protest against the Concordat, and endeavour without success to produce a schism. Bonaparte, in restoring the Pontifical Church, had the idea of making it a point of support for his dynastic designs. After the proclamation of the empire, he wishes to gain religious consecration for his new power. Pius VII., long uncertain, ends by consenting to repair to Paris, in the hope that the legations will be restored to him as the price of his condescension. On the French territory he finds himself everywhere surrounded with respect and homage. The welcome he receives induces him to prolong his sojourn in the capital after the ceremony of the coronation (2d Dec. 1804). But at last he is not the less obliged to leave without having obtained the territorial restitution which he had in view in his journey.

The refractory clergy does not abjure in its triumph any of the passions which had agitated it. It continues to combat the revolution, and with this purpose seconds the objects of the new emperor, who revives all the monarchical follies.

As long as the Court of Rome maintains itself on good terms with the government, the clergy of France shows itself very docile. It even preaches in favour of the conscription. Its catechism makes absolute devotement to the prince and his family—the worship of the imperial idol, a religious dogma, so to say.

In the period of the Consulate, the laws which forbade religious societies had undergone some blows in favour of the Sisters of Charity and Beneficence ; establishments of that kind had been authorised by divers acts of the year IX., the year XI., and of the year XII. An imperial decree, dated the 3d Messidor of the last year, maintains them on condition that their statutes are verified by the Council of State within six months. But during the empire no association of men is authorised or tolerated. Bonaparte had

formally refused, when Consul, the offers of service which the Jesuits had made to him. At a later day, divers societies or associations having been formed at Belley, Annecy, and in some other cities, under the name of *Fathers of the Faith, Worshippers of Jesus, or Pacanarists*, the decree of the 3rd Messidor, year XII., dissolves these aggregations and all others which had been formed under a religious pretext, and were not authorised ; it enjoins on the ecclesiastics who compose them to retire into their dioceses, to live there according to the laws and under the jurisdiction of the ordinary. Article third of the decree prescribes the execution, according to their form and tenor, of the laws which oppose admission of every religious order in which its members are bound by permanent vows. According to Article four, no aggregation or association of men or women shall be formed in future, under pretext of religion, before having been formally authorised by imperial decree in view of their statutes and regulations. These *Fathers of the Faith, Pacanarists, and others*, were Jesuits disguised under other names. In the first days of the empire, the Society of Jesus has numerous associates in France. It makes recruits even in secular establishments, in the polytechnic school, and in the schools of law and medicine. The government, under divers pretexts, removes the polytechnic affiliations. The pope secretly encourages the enterprise of the Jesuits.

In the midst of the regulations relative to Christian communions, nothing had been done in regard to the Israelites. This was a vacuum to be filled. The revolution of 1789 had secured them, as other citizens, the enjoyment of all civil and political rights ; but religious prejudices and old antipathies still separated the Jews from the rest of the population. The imperial government, in order to open the way to a real fusion, convokes at Paris, the 15th July 1806, a general assembly of the Israelites that inhabited the French territory. A regulation is drawn up for the exercise of their worship and for their internal police. (This regulation was sanctioned by a decree of the 17th March 1808). A great Sanhedrim, composed of seventy-one doctors of the law and

notables of Israel, deputed by all the synagogues of France and Italy, comes together in the same city the 4th February 1807, to deliberate on the religious ordinances which shall serve as rules and examples to all the Israelites. In its decision, given the 2d March following, the great Sanhedrim lays it down as a principle that, the law of Israel contains religious and political arrangements—the first absolute and unchangeable, others that may change according to times and circumstances, and that it belongs to the doctors of the law assembled in the great Sanhedrim to declare and regulate what modifications ought to be applied to the political regulations.

It determines and ordains in consequence, as a religious precept, on all the Israelites of the states where the civil laws forbid polygamy, not to marry a second wife while the first is alive, except in the case of divorce ; on every rabbi not to concur in any act of repudiation or divorce, without his being shown the civil judgment which pronounces it, as also not to take part in the religious act of marriage until after he has been justified in the act before the civil officer. It declares that marriages between Israelites and Christians are civilly valid, and although they cannot be clad in religious forms, do not entail any anathema :

That the Israelites are held to regard as their brothers the members of the nations which recognise God the creator of heaven and earth, and among whom they live, and to practise in respect to them the acts of justice and charity which are prescribed by the law :

That they are religiously obliged to regard those estates as their country, to serve them, to defend them, to obey the laws, and that during their military service they are relieved of all religious observances which are incompatible with it :

That they ought to inspire the young with the love of labour, and to direct them toward the exercise of arts and trades and liberal professions, as also to acquire landed property, that they may be more attached to their country, and renounce odious and contemptible occupations :

That Israelites, not being allowed to require any interest from their co-religionists when the question is not of com-

mercial speculation, but of a loan to aid a father in want, they shall in future be obliged to do the same in regard to their fellow-countrymen of another worship, as well as to forbid themselves usury with foreigners of all nations. This declaration of the great Sanhedrim was of a nature to lessen the prejudices that prevailed against the Jews, and to assimilate them more and more every day to the inhabitants of the empire. The same principles of toleration, applied since in other countries, have not a little contributed to ameliorate among Christians the lot of the Children of Israel in civil and political relations. Notwithstanding the Concordat and the festivities of the imperial coronation, harmony does not long exist between Pius VII. and the Emperor of the French. The latter, regarding himself as the absolute master of Rome and Italy, did not deny himself any of the acts which might aid his ambitious projects. To his refusal to restore the legations are added other grievances which alienate the pope to the last degree, such as the occupation of Ancona, the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, the seizure of the Roman principalities of Benevento and Ponte Corvo. The pontiff in consequence resists all the demands of the emperor; as sovereign he will not belong to the continental system; as pontiff he refuses canonical institution to the bishops named by the French government. Napoleon, who allows no obstacle to his will, occupies with troops the provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and then proposes an accommodation (1808). On the refusal of the pope his states are invaded; Rome sees the arrival of a body of French soldiers, commanded by General Miollis (2d February). The irritation of Pius VII. is at its height. He quits the Vatican, and shuts himself up in the Quirinal as a fortress, surrounded by his noble guard. He refuses to receive the visit of Miollis the first day of the year, and puts into pledge, in order to supply his wants, the superb tiara given him by the emperor. Protests addressed by him to foreign courts are intercepted. Then the pope, declaring himself a prisoner, abstains from corresponding with any one. Miollis breaks down the gates of the Quirinal; and disarms the noble guard. By a decree

dated from Schoenbrunn (17th May 1809), the temporal power of the pope is suppressed, and his states united to the French territory. The convents are abolished, also the Inquisition and the ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The French law reigns alone. To the pope are left his palaces in Rome, two millions of civil list, and the pontifical representation.

At the publication of this decree, Pius VII. issues a bull of excommunication against all the authors and accomplices of the acts of violence and spoliation practised on the Holy See and its patrimony. That bull is affixed on Saint Peter's and the majority of the other churches of Rome. In virtue of an order from the emperor, the pontiff is carried away from the Quirinal (6th July), and conducted to Tuscany, Alexandria, Grenoble, to be afterwards brought back to Savonna. At the same time, the cardinals, the generals of the different religious orders; the members of the Roman Chancellory and the Dotary, the Penitentiary and the pontifical archives are transferred to Paris, where Napoleon intends to establish the centre of the temporal and spiritual authority. A decree of the 25th February 1810 declares the edict of March 1682 a general law of the empire. That edict sanctions the declaration of the clergy of France touching the ecclesiastical power. The French clergy pray for the pope in all the churches. The opponents amuse themselves at the expense of the Concordat and its consequences. Whilst negotiations go on at Savonna to obtain from the pontiff his consent to the abolition of the temporal power and to the canonical institution of the nominated bishops, the quality of apostolic vicars is conferred on the last by the chapters, and that gives them the right to administer provisionally. Twenty-seven dioceses are in this case, among others that of Paris, directed by Cardinal Maury, chosen by the emperor. But the pope secretly forbids the recognition of this title in the non-instituted bishops (1810). This plot being discovered, different members of the chapters are thrown into prison (1811). Rigorous measures are employed even against Pius VII. ; he is deprived of all his attendants, and left without paper, ink, and pen, without secretary, under the continual super-

vision of an officer of the gendarmerie. The emperor forms the resolution to submit to a national council the question of canonical institution. Before the meeting of the Assembly a last attempt is made with the pope by three prelates sent from Savonna. They obtain from him a sort of declaration, not signed, by which he consents: first, to institute for this time the nominated bishops without mention of *motu proprio*; second, to give in future the institution within six months, unless the metropolitan or the oldest bishop shall be authorised to institute in his own name; third, to discuss other arrangements when he shall be free and surrounded by his cardinals. The council, composed of a certain number of prelates, of whom thirty are of Italy, meets in Notre Dame, under the presidency of Cardinal Fesch (17th June 1811). Its first act is to take the oath of fidelity to the Holy See, as was prescribed by Pius IV. after the Council of Trent. A spirit of opposition manifesting itself in the assembly, the emperor sends three prelates to Vincennes. The council, intimidated, issues for canonical institution a decree conformed to the declaration reported from Savona, a decree, which shall be, says it, submitted to the approbation of the pope, and nevertheless maintained if he refuses to give it. A numerous deputation of the council goes to communicate the decision to Pius VII., who approves it by a Brief, obliging himself to institute the twenty-seven nominated prelates without delay; but this Brief is accompanied by motives which are ill received by the French Government, and referred to the examination of a commission of the Council of State. No consequence is given to the bulls of institution sent by the pontiff; the Council remains without result.

In the year 1812 the pope is transferred without noise from Savona to Fountainebleau, where he finds himself loaded with attentions, without ceasing to be under supervision; he lives there in complete seclusion. Returning from the campaign of Russia, the emperor thinks of himself terminating his differences with Pius VII. He goes to see him at Fountainebleau (19th Jan. 1813). After frequent interviews and long conversations, they end by signing (25th

Jan.) a new Concordat, of which these are the principal points :—The pope shall exercise the pontificate in France and in Italy in the same manner and in the same forms as his predecessors (it was nevertheless understood that he should reside at Avignon). The nuncios and legates, as well as the envoys of foreign powers to the Holy See, shall enjoy diplomatic immunities and privileges. The pope shall recover his not alienated domains and shall receive a revenue of two millions of francs, in replacement of those which he parted with. He will give institution to the bishops and archbishops within six months of their nomination, unless the metropolitan or the oldest bishop of the province shall proceed to the institution in the ensuing six months. The Holy See will appoint to ten bishoprics whether in France or in Italy, and to the six suburban ones. The propagandist society, the penitentiary, the archives shall be restored to the place where the Holy Father resides. This Concordat is published the 13th February, as a law of the empire ; and the 25th March following a decree is issued for its execution. But when the cardinals came to the pope they inspired in him a lively regret at what he had done in showing him that Napoleon's fortune was much more shaken than he had thought. Pius VII. sends a retraction which the emperor does not accept. In agreement with his council, the pontiff temporises until a new order, and continues to live in seclusion at Fountainebleau. The opposition of the French clergy becomes more and more decided against the imperial government. The pope, in the beginning of 1814, refuses a new religious alliance, and declares that he will not treat except in Rome. The emperor sends him back into Italy, in renouncing the departments of Rome and Trasimene, already evacuated by the French. The fall of Napoleon is the signal of a Catholic reaction. In France the clergy declare, almost without exception, for the old dynasty. The empire and the revolution are on its part the object of continual attacks. It preaches publicly in the provinces against the Concordat and the sale of the national property ; it goes so far as to refuse the sacraments to such as acquire those goods, when

they do not consent to surrender them. The Bourbons had always detested the Concordat, which they regarded as one of the principal ramparts of the imperial power. The Senate having omitted, in its project of a constitution, to mention the continuance of that act, Louis XVIII., free from engagements in that matter, proposes to bring back the old order of things in religious matters. His government at first refuses to recognise the prelates who have not received canonical institution. On this ground Cardinal Maury is expelled from the See of the capital. Several bishops, although instituted by the pope, are not less disquieted, some as having taken oath in the time of the revolution, others as occupying sees whose titulars refused their resignation in 1802; there results a kind of schism in certain departments.

The king negotiates at Rome to obtain the abolition of the Concordat, the restoration of the old sees, and the not resigned prelates, finally the restoration of all things to the state anterior to the revolution. Pius VII. none the less desires to modify the Concordat in different points which nearly touch the Church of Rome. He advises the king not to admit liberty of worship, to bestow on the clergy of France an endowment on fixed property, to suppress divorce, to give to the religious act in marriage superiority over the civil act. A commission of cardinals is charged with examining the question of the revocation of the Concordat. But in spite of the goodwill of both parties, certain difficulties retard the conclusion of this affair. The Catholic worship had been declared the religion of the State by the charter of 1814. Shortly after, a law regulates the celebration of festivals and Sundays (18th Nov.). In the second restoration, political and religious passions embue with blood several departments of the South. A crowd of Protestants are massacred in the Gard, without any prosecution of the assassins taking place. Catholic missions traverse the whole of France. Negotiations are resumed with the pontifical court for the supercession of the Concordat of the year X. A new religious treaty is signed at Rome, the 11th July 1817. This act re-establishes the Concordat of

Francis I., in abolishing that of 1801 as well as the organic articles. The dioceses suppressed at the last epoch will be reconstituted in such a number as shall be agreed on. A suitable endowment in fixed property and in rent in the State shall be secured to all the sees, as soon as circumstances shall permit. The abbeys, priories, and other benefices which shall be founded in future shall be governed by the Concordat of Francis I. and Leo X. A project of law is presented to the chambers in the session of 1817 to sanction these arrangements; but it is not adopted, and the convention made with the pope becomes a failure; the Concordat of the year X. continues to subsist. A law of the 4th July 1821 creates nevertheless a credit for the endowment of a certain number of episcopal or metropolitan sees, the establishment and boundaries of which are to be concerted between the government and the Holy See. In consequence a bull of the 6th October 1822 fixes the limits of all the dioceses of the kingdom. It comprises fourteen metropolises and seventy bishoprics, together with eighty dioceses, a number still inferior to that which had been determined by the Constituent Assembly, one for each department. A multitude of societies of women are established under the favour of the governmental tendencies. Toward the end of the reign of Louis XVIII. there existed two thousand eight hundred, of which fifteen hundred and thirty-three are definitively authorised, the others not. It was then supposed that the authorisation could be given by simple ordinances. Projects of law are even presented with this view in 1823 and 1824; but the legislative chamber refuses to adopt them. Under Charles X. clerical influence predominates in the government councils. It causes to be passed, the 20th April 1825, a law on sacrilege, a fit monument of the barbarity of the middle ages. The 24th of May of the same year a law is adopted concerning the religious societies of women; but, contrary to the will of those who presented it, this law decides that the societies which did not exist before the 1st of January preceding could not be authorised except by a legislative measure. The sacerdotal reaction, to break down the obstacles which

the spirit of liberty has opposed, finally dictates the ordinances of July 1830, which have for result to open to Charles X. and his family the path of a last exile.

Prostrated at first by the fall of the monarchy of divine right, the Catholic clergy does not delay to recover itself. It might have feared after the battle that a severe account would be demanded of those who passed for the true authors of the collision. But, apart from the devastation of the archi-episcopal palace of Paris, brought on by imprudent provocations, no violence is exercised against persons or things. The successful party contents itself with abrogating the law of sacrilege (11th Oct. 1830), and with reporting two ordinances passed under Louis XVIII. in favour of the priests of the French missions (25th Dec. 1830). If the clerical party is compelled to adjourn its hopes, and to disappear from the political scene, the debate continues none the less under one form or another ; no conciliation can take place between the Roman autocracy and liberty. While profiting by the good-will of the government of Louis Philippe, the Ultramontanes carry on a secret war against him, and, when needful, league against him even with the republicans. The first years of the monarchy of July sees in Paris an attempt to set up a new form of worship, Saint Simonism. Of that sect, which entitled itself religious and social, we shall say nothing else than that the idea could not have come except from men nursed in the doctrine and discipline of Roman Catholicism ; it is the same hierarchy, the same despotic authority, the same horror of human liberty. All these monkish Utopias, the last progeny of the Dominican Campanella, would have little influence in the midst of the free communions of the Reformation ; but they may, at a given moment, bring serious perturbations among the servile populations of the pontifical Church ; the more the ultramontane spirit prevails in a country the greater will be the danger. The law of the 24th May 1825 consecrated the existence of religious societies of women duly authorised ; but no measure was taken to report or modify, any more under the restoration than under the first empire, the decrees of interdiction passed against the religious societies

of men. Nor does the government of Louis Philippe abrogate them. Nevertheless, in despite of the legal prescriptions, the members of these corporations—Jesuits, Dominicans, Carmelites, Franciscans, and others—freely introduce themselves into France from the time of the restoration of the Bourbons, and are not less tolerated under the younger branch than under the older. The houses of Jesuits are alone dissolved in 1845, by application of the law of the 10th April 1841 on unlawful associations.

After the fall of the family of Orleans, those Fathers reappear without being more disquieted than the other monks either by presidential regime or by the new empire. Societies of men swarm to-day in all the departments without authority, it is true, but also without any one demanding against them the application of the existing laws. Societies of women take at the same time an indefinite extension, which is specially favoured by a dictatorial decree dated 31st January 1852, which, derogating from the law of the 24th May 1825, leaves the government, almost in all cases, the right of authorising them by a simple decree; the number of monks and nuns in France is estimated as one hundred thousand. The second empire neglects no means of gaining the sacerdotal class. The cardinals are declared by it senators by right. The papacy owes to it moreover two expeditions to Rome for the maintenance of its temporal power, and that to Mexico solicited by the priests of the New World, as also several good offices or acts of deference, but certain grievances may attenuate the gratitude of the Vatican. For instance, who laid the first foundations of that kingdom of Italy, into which Rome was to be absorbed sooner or later, and the pope reduced to the condition of a bishop?

The new order of things opens for France the 4th September 1870. As a consequence of the events of 1814 and 1815, the Italian Peninsula returned to its old political condition. The emperor of Austria, sovereign of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, ruled, by divers members of his family, in Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and by a preponderant influence, in the other countries. The ancient

dynasties hastened to restore the anterior order of things in the duchy of Milan, Piedmont, and the kingdom of Naples. The Court of Rome also recovered its Cisalpine possessions. But notwithstanding the protests of the pope, Avignon and Venaissin remained to France. Pius VII., on his arrival in the pontifical city, gave himself up to transports of anger, which are not habitual to him. He abolishes the judicial and administrative reforms of the French, persecutes their partisans, annuls the sale of church property, restores the Society of the Jesuits.

The lot of those Fathers received divers mitigations after the death of Clement XIV. Pius VI. first restores liberty to their superiors, who were prisoners in the Castle Santo Angelo. He then confirms the festival of the Sacred Heart of Jesus,\* invented by them, and approved by Clement XIII. ; that form of superstition becomes a rallying sign and a password for their partisans.

Driven from Roman Catholic countries, the Jesuits find a refuge in dissident or schismatic nations. They unite in community and under their institute in the States of the King of Prussia, who keeps them as professors in the Catholic schools of Silesia and Prussian Poland. Pius VI. permits them, yet interdicting them to live in a collegiate form, and to bear the dress of their rule (1776).

Catherine II. allows the Jesuits to enter the provinces of her empire (1779). They remain in community at Mohilew, Polock, and elsewhere, under the direction of a vicar-general, and receive novices among them. Their existence in these regions is legitimated by Pius VII., the second year of his pontificate. But at the end of 1815, the emperor Alexander sends them from his two capitals on account of the proselytism which they exercise over young men and young women. The same reason causes them to be banished, some years later, from the Russian empire, White Russia, and Poland (1820). All the popes cleave to the Jesuits, who are the right hand of the Court of

\* See *Mary Alacoque and the Sacred Heart of Jesus, presented in their real character* by Louis Asseline, translated from the French by John R. Beard ; price 4d. Smart & Allen, Paternoster Row, London.

Rome. Clement XIV. suppressed them contrary to his will. Pius VI. and Pius VII. supported them in the countries of the North. The latter even re-established them in Naples in 1805 on the request of King Ferdinand IV. On the fall of the French empire, he profits by the reaction which rages on all sides to abrogate the bull *Dominus ac Redemptor* of Clement XIV., in reconstituting the order in its ancient splendour with all its rights and privileges, under pain of excommunication against whosoever should oppose the execution of the decree (7th Aug. 1804).

Since then the spirit of the Jesuits has not ceased to inspire the Roman Church. Spain is the sole Catholic power which recalls them about this time (9th June 1815). In other countries, a lively sentiment of repulsion is declared against them. They end, nevertheless, by introducing themselves there sooner or later, owing to the toleration or the connivance of the governments.

However, the love of liberty awakes in Italy. The idea of national liberty strikes root into the soil. In 1820 and 1821, two insurrections break out at Naples and Turin. They are put down by the arms of Austria; but the thought of independence survives. A presentiment of the future alarms kings and princes. Pius VII. unites in all countries with those who desire to stifle liberal aspirations. He hurls a bull against the Carbonari (13th Sept. 1821). But the indulgence of his character moderates the rigours of the ecclesiastical administration. Leo XII., who succeeds him (27th Sept. 1823), rushes into ways of repression. The Inquisition is revived, the prisons fill, the blood of patriots flows on the scaffolds.

A milder spirit seems to guide Pius VIII. (21st March 1829), whose reign is of short duration. Gregory XVI. reproduces the despotic spirit of the pontiffs, whose name he bears (1801-16).

In 1830, France seemed to give to the nations the signal of enfranchisement. The Court of Rome leagues itself with the sovereigns against the spirit of independence which breathes on all sides. Romagna rises; the Austrians hasten and re-establish the government of Parma and

Modena, as well as that of the pope at Bologne. Scarcely have they evacuated the Legations than a new insurrection bursts out ; they return on their steps. The French, in their turn, occupy Ancona for a counter-balance (1831). These two bodies of troops remain in the Roman States till 1838. In the interval, the Court of Rome, no longer fearing rebellion, has an open field for acting severely against the dissatisfied. In vain the great powers of Europe present to it a *memorandum*, requesting reforms (10th May 1831) ; in vain their ambassadors cease not to urge its necessity ; Gregory XIV. will not listen to anything of the kind. Every year of his pontificate is marked by proscriptions and sanguinary executions. The tribunal of the Inquisition is actively at work ; the *Sanfedists*, champions of the pope, organise themselves militarily, and in the name of the Virgin commit a number of assassinations. On the exterior, Gregory declares himself everywhere against the liberty of nations. The insurrection of Poland finds him hostile (1831), he supports Don Carlos in Spain ; Don Miguel in Portugal ; in France, he holds for the elder branch.

Toward the end of his reign, minds became excited in all Italian countries. Some propose a federation of the States of the Peninsula, others a unique monarchy, others a Republican government. Gioberti claims for the pope the honour of the national regeneration. Pius IX., elected the 16th June 1846, seems, to all, the pontiff predestined to that great work. At first he restrains the luxury of his court, distributes alms, gives frequent audiences, puts an end to political persecutions. His decree of amnesty calls forth unanimous applause (16th July). But with a milder character, the new pope has not less firmness than his predecessor in his ideas on the pontifical authority ; his intention is to grant only administrative changes. At the end of eighteen months the old institutions remain intact ; Pius IX. gives hope and does nothing. Italy agitates for independence and liberty. Constitutions are promulgated in Piedmont, Tuscany, Naples. A cry rises everywhere : The barbarians out of the land ! The proclamation of the

Republic of France (1848) determines the pope to publish a statute for his own States (14th March). In this act the sacred college forms a sort of supreme senate ; below it are two legislative councils—one of members appointed for life by the pontiff, the other elected by the people. At the news of the revolution of Vienna (21st March), successful insurrections install themselves in Venice, Milan, Parma, Modena. The Piedmontese enter on a campaign against Austria, and obtain some success. The King of Naples feigns to connect himself with the Italian movement. The army of Tuscany marches to the frontiers of the Grand Duchy. Pius IX., drawn on by events, sends pontifical troops to the frontiers of the Roman States ; but their general has an order not to pass beyond them.

The Italians formed the illusion of seeing in that pontiff another Jules II., the support of their independence. The veil falls when he delivered his allocution of the 29th April, in which he says it is very far from his thought to make war on Austria. The people of Rome growing irritated, Pius IX. is constrained to take a liberal ministry, he affects to place himself as mediator between Austria and Piedmont. The Legislative Chambers assemble at Rome (5th June), but the pontiff, not taking the subject seriously, regards their statute as a chimera, which ought not to embarrass his sovereign power. An armistice is concluded between the Piedmontese and the Austrians (August).

The pope forms a new ministry, at the head of which is placed Rossi, ex-ambassador to France (16th September). This minister attempts to introduce at Rome a kind of medium government, which displeases the advanced and the retrograde. He dies assassinated, by which party is not well known (15th Nov.). Pius IX. takes to flight in the midst of a popular movement (24th Nov.) and finds refuge at Gaeta, in the Neapolitan states, where the diplomatic body joins him. Europe declares for the pontiff ; he asks for an armed intervention of France, Austria, Spain and Naples.

A Constituent Assembly meets in Rome and proclaims a Republic (Feb. 1849). The Austrians invade Ferrara.

Piedmont recommences the war against them ; but it is definitively conquered at Navara (23d March). Charles Albert abdicates. The French, disembarked at Civita Vecchia the 25th of April, enter Rome the 3d July. Pius IX. resisting all concession, refuses to go into his capital, in the midst of the liberating army. He repairs to Naples, where he publishes, the 12th of September, a *Motu Proprio* (declaration emanating from himself) which promises some administrative reforms, and grants an amnesty restricted by numerous exceptions. A political Inquisition rages in the Roman states. Thirty thousand citizens are imprisoned or proscribed. The pope enters Rome only on the 12th April 1852. He then gives effect to the promises of his *Motu Proprio*, but in a way altogether illusory. In 1859 France and Piedmont declare war against Austria. Conquered at Magenta and Solferino, the Austrians yield the Milanais to France, who transfers it to Piedmont. The last kingdom at the same time takes possession of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany. The year following, the Roman states are invaded, with the exception of the patrimony of St Peter and Rome, which the pope still keeps, owing to the presence of the French in the latter city. The kingdom of the two Sicilies is, in its turn, incorporated in the Italian monarchy. The French evacuate Rome in 1862. As a sequel of the battle of Sadowa (1866) Austria abandons the Venetian states, which are annexed to the new kingdom of Italy. In 1867 the volunteers of Garibaldi penetrate into the domain of St Peter. A new French expedition delivers the pope. In the midst of these political events, the pontifical see does not cease to follow, in the spiritual order, the way traced by the Jesuits, who are all-powerful at Rome. The encyclicals reproduce the doctrines of the middle ages on papal authority, a kind of protest against modern society. Legends are spread abroad ; popular tales find a welcome ; devotional practices are exaggerated into mummeries ; Mary-worship increases day by day ; appearances and revelations of the Virgin succeed one another ; Mary's months flourish ; her confraternities swarm on all sides. Pius IX. consecrates the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception

which the Council of Trent left undecided, and on which the other pontiffs had always abstained from giving a categorical solution. About the same time he canonises with great display, in an assembly of bishops, several saints of Japan, Languedoc, Spain, whose miracles are extolled; occupations silly in themselves, and worse than silly, as they supplied food to superstition. However the Court of Rome feels the want of consolidating its omnipotence by decreeing the dogma of papal infallibility. An Ecumenical Council, the twenty-first of the Latins, meets in the Vatican the 18th December 1869. Seven hundred and sixty-two fathers are present—cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbés, and generals of Orders. The political governments abstain from sending ambassadors thither.

A numerous minority shows itself in the assembly, the majority of which is, in great part, composed of bishops in *partibus* \* or missionary bishops. The 13th July 1870 six hundred and one Fathers take part in the vote on the primacy and infallibility of the pope. Four hundred and fifty are for the affirmative, the rest oppose.

While these things are going on, war with Germany compels Napoleon III. to recall his soldiers from Italy. The pope and his estates remain under the protection of King Victor Emanuel against the attempts of the revolutionists. But, after the fall of the French Cæsar, the Italian troops do not delay to penetrate into the pontifical territory. The occupation of the provinces takes place without serious resistance. The royal army enters Rome the 20th September after four hours of combat. By a decree of the 9th October, that city and the provinces are declared an integral part of the kingdom of Italy.

The Italians, in taking possession of the States of the pope, declare that they will not damage or embarrass his spiritual authority. The pontiff shall still be the head of Catholicism with the honours and the rights of a sovereign; the diplomatic privileges of the agents accredited to him

\* In *partibus infidelium* (in full) that is among the heretics. These bishops, having no Catholic charges, hold an inferior position.—*Translator.*

shall be upheld ; his legates and nuncios shall have right to the prerogatives of the representatives of friendly powers. In ecclesiastical matters there shall be absolute liberty for the pope as for the prelates and the societies. Italy takes on itself the expenses of the pontifical court and the debt of the Roman States. These conditions for the relations of the Church and the kingdom shall be ratified by European treaties. On various occasions Pius IX. protests against the occupation of his estates and against the situation in which he is put. But he remains in the Vatican, and does not seem to have a thought of leaving it. Since the abolition of the order of the Jesuits (1773), Spain had always remained on good terms with the pontifical See. Nevertheless, at the death of Pius VI. a decree had been issued by Charles IV. to restore to the Spanish bishops the rights of which the pope had despoiled them, and to relieve the nation of an annual charge of several millions which it paid to the Court of Rome. But after the election of Pius VII. the royal schedule was revoked and things placed in their former condition. Its relations with France at the commencement of the nineteenth century seem to react on the Spanish government. A law of the 10th August 1803 removes from the nuncios of the pope all ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction in the kingdom. It would have been without doubt easy for the French cabinet to draw Spain, by its councils and examples, into a way of regeneration, to which the upper classes showed themselves quite disposed. The unbridled ambition of the first Bonaparte made events take a different turn. Spain is invaded as a result of an ambush. It refuses to submit to the will of a master ; all the nation rises. The enlightened classes seize the opportunity for importing into their country the principles of 1789. The Cortes, assembled at Cadiz, while calling to arms against the foreigner, endeavour to endow Spain with liberal institutions. On their side, the priests and the monks, who fear the influence of French ideas, impel the people to resistance, and make of that struggle a religious war, in which the atrocities of the middle ages are reproduced. On his return, Ferdinand VII. destroys the regene-

rative measures which have been taken in his absence. The Cortes are dissolved and the members persecuted. The ecclesiastical property is restored. Abolished by the French in 1808, and by the Cortes in the beginning of 1843, the Inquisition rises again on the demands of the pope (July 1814). The Jesuits recover their power. Nevertheless Ferdinand refuses to relieve the bishops of the oath to preserve the royal prerogatives (*regalia*) ; and he maintains the *regium exequatur*. In 1820 an insurrection seizes the person of the king. The Cortes are restored, the Inquisition beaten down, the Jesuits expelled, the convents interdicted, and their goods applied to the payment of the public debt. The priests are subjected to the law like other citizens. But the army of the king of France, Louis XVIII., comes and restores the absolute power (1823). A political and religious reaction rages against the friends of liberty. On the death of Ferdinand VII. (1833) the question of succession to the throne divides the royal family. The liberals seize the power under the name of Isabella II., daughter of the last king. She has for competitor Don Carlos, her uncle, who is supported by the clerical faction. A prolonged struggle takes place between the two parties. Isabella gains the day in the long run. But Spanish liberalism does not yet go so far as to proclaim liberty of conscience. Catholicism remains the sole religion allowed. The bishops take place in the Senate. The dissidents are delivered up to the tribunals. You would say that the shadow of the Inquisition ever hangs over the country. The sale of the conventional property is suspended in 1844 under the pretext of making it into a provision for the secular clergy. In the degree in which the Carlist party loses consistence, and the government of Isabella II. strengthens by time, you see each day unfold itself a tendency to espouse the traditions of royal and pontifical despotism.

In these circumstances an insurrection breaks out at Cadiz (Sep. 1868), and soon it makes its successful way into Madrid. Isabella II. takes refuge in France. The fall of the Bourbons is proclaimed. The Jesuits are again

expelled. The convents established since 1835 are closed. Primary instruction becomes free. Catholicism does not cease to be the religion of the State ; but the exercise of dissident worships is tolerated in favour of the foreigners who reside in Spain, and even of the Spaniards who are no longer Catholics (if there were any!). The Cortes assembled in February 1869 vote a monarchical constitution. Different absolutists and republican insurrections are put down in turn. After an interregnum of twenty-six months and the failure of several candidatures, the Cortes bestow the crown on Amadæus of Savoy, duke of Aosta, who will cede the post to a republic. While the Roman priesthood, in conflict with the modern spirit of the West, defends foot by foot its temporal power, and attempts to still prevail by the bonds of superstition, the resources of intrigue and the favour of absolute governments, the Greek Church, which goes forward in perfect agreement with the nations of its faith, sees them strengthen themselves and grow in the moral and political order. The Russian clergy, if they did not lack intelligence, might aid the civilising movement which doubtless the emancipation of the serfs of all the empire would impress on the civilising movement. It would be its work to conciliate hearts in a religious sentiment, to enlighten minds, and to secure the regeneration of the masses called to a new existence. Unfortunately a very different part is assigned to it in the provinces of the unfortunate Poland. There the Czar seeks to make religion an instrument of his policy, by substituting the Church of the Greeks for that of the Latins. Sad return of things! In the time of the crusades it was the worship of Rome which imposed itself by violence in the Hellenic countries. On the exterior Russia affects for its co-religionists a kind of protection which would be worthy of praise were it disinterested. But the other States will see there only clever manœuvres to seize, under the veil of religion, the European provinces of Turkey, which have long been the objects of its envy. A social revival announces itself in the eighteenth century among the Christians of these countries. The progress will not stop. Ancient Greece is the first to throw

off the yoke of the Moslems (1821), and make itself recognised in the rank of the nations. This new kingdom becomes a centre around which group the patriotic hopes of all the Hellenes. The other Christians of European Turkey agitate in their turn, and from concession to concession, approach more and more a real independence. Will they succeed in freeing themselves absolutely, at any price, on what conditions, with or without the concurrence of powerful protectors ? These are questions which a not distant future will resolve. To say the truth, there no longer exists a supreme patriarchate among the Greek Catholics, but three national Churches—that of Russia, that of Turkey, and that of the kingdom of Greece. These three Churches have each their particular government, while still preserving amongst them unity of faith and doctrine.

In German countries, the situation of Protestants and Catholics was regulated by the treaty of Westphalia, which consecrated liberty of conscience for the Lutherans and the Calvinists, except in the States of the house of Austria (1648). This state of things had not undergone any marked changes until toward the end of the eighteenth century. But in the first years of the nineteenth, political events diminish the forces of the Roman Church. The property of ecclesiastical princes and chapters is secularised (1805) ; the Germanic body is dissolved (1806-7). The treaties of 1814 and 1815 having caused Catholic countries to pass under the dominion of Protestant princes, an approximation takes place between the followers of the two churches. The non-Catholic governments proclaim unlimited liberty of worship, which, among them, more than any other, benefits the Roman religion. This liberty tends to become general in all German countries. But the recent conquests of Prussia may create complications which cannot be yet foreseen. Among the Protestant populations, *Syncreticism* had, in the seventeenth century, prepared minds for a mutual toleration. The *pietism* of Spener, in placing morality above dogma, facilitates the approximation of the different communions. This movement is seconded by the French Calvinists, who take refuge beyond the

Rhine after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. They had already, in their country, decreed toleration in regard to the Lutheran worship (1634). By these different causes, the two churches of Luther and Calvin lost much of their primitive dogmatism. The Protestants are no longer solicited to quit the one for the other. Germany, in the course of the eighteenth century, underwent little influence from the English or French philosophy. The efforts of naturalism in that country succeeded only in spreading among the Protestants, by little and little, a new theology which attempted to eliminate the positive details of religion, so as to cleave to the morality of Christ, which is accepted as either revealed or as true. The Calvinists softening their dogma of predestination, and the Lutherans modifying theirs on the real presence, all difference tends to vanish between the two communions. The adherents of the one have no difficulty in mingling with the other ; they approach the Lord's Supper in the two churches. The only obstacle to a complete re-union is connected with their difference of government : among the Calvinists it is near Republican equality ; while the Lutherans admit the Episcopate, whose tendencies are aristocratic. Identity of doctrine must, however, lead in time the two communions to make but one. The fusion begins about 1817 in the Duchy of Nassau, under the title of Evangelical Church. It extends to Paris, to Frankfort-on-Main, into nearly all Prussia, into the two Hessens, into the Grand Duchy of Baden, and into different other regions. Within a few years, perhaps, it will be the same in all places. However, the philosophy inaugurated by Kant in Germany, about the year 1780, and the movement of which continued to the first third of the nineteenth century, the profound historical studies of modern scholars, and the recent discoveries in oriental archaeology, could not fail to react on the religious ideas and traditions of christianity. A free theology is produced at Berlin under the double impulse of Hegel and Schleiermacher. The first, while declaring himself faithful to Christian orthodoxy, ended in a sort of pantheism. The second, who has been called "The Calvin of the nineteenth

century," seeks, in the religious conscience, a soil neutral for philosophy and theology, and rejecting naturalism, conceives religion only under a determinate form. In regard to their free theology, there organises itself, in the same country, a court orthodoxy, which proclaims the divinity of the canon of the Church, and ranges itself under the standard of Luther and professions of faith. In this fluctuation of minds, a *Life of Jesus* is published by Strauss, a theologian of Tübingen (1835). The author accepts no miracle, and with the aid of a new criticism of history, attempts to reduce the narrative of the evangelists to a legend, or a combination of ancient myths, which have been adapted to the person of Christ. The work occasions warm discussions in Germany. Theologians, on all sides, cry out against it. Among the disciples of Hegel, some take pains to demonstrate the supposed orthodoxy of their master, others declare a definitive rupture between theology and philosophy. Strauss's work becomes the signal of a sort of official investigation into all the books of the New Testament. This task is ardently gone into by the historians of Tübingen, of whom Baur is the chief. Their school, purely historical, seeks in the New Testament the origin, date, tendencies of the different writings which compose it, and compares those writings with the documents furnished by history at the same time. The consequences which it deduces from that examination raise numerous contradictions and prolonged debates. Justice ought to be done to the sagacity of Baur and his disciples. But, in accepting the points which they have really elucidated it cannot be denied that sometimes they yield to the spirit of system, and rely on arguments more specious than solidly established. Their criticism, referring everything to a purely natural order, banishes the idea of miracles, the Trinity, the deity of Christ, and definitively invites all Christian communions to the doctrine of the Unitarians, that is to the veritable teaching of Jesus and his apostles. In the British islands, the government, in the middle of the eighteenth century, undertook to moderate the laws existing against the Roman Catholics; but it was hindered by the contrary tendencies of the

Anglican Church. However, in 1778, a law revokes for England the penalties and disqualifications established against Catholicism by an act of the reign of William III. Two years later, an attempt is made to extend the measure to the kingdom of Scotland. But the project occasions grave disturbances in that country, and has to be abandoned. At the same time, a violent commotion bursts out in England. George Gordon, giving himself out for a prophet, puts himself at the head of the anti-Papist movement, and presents a petition to the Chambers, escorted by more than forty thousand persons. A mob gives itself up to excesses of all kinds against the Catholics—English or foreigners. The putting down of this tumult leaves on the place nearly five hundred victims. Gordon and others are apprehended, of whom nineteen are hanged. None the less is the parliament obliged, in order to calm the agitation, to declare that the law of 1778, in mitigating the laws passed under the reign of William III, made no change in the acts previously existing against the Roman Church. The Catholics of England and Ireland, combining to gain their rights, make an insurrectional attempt in 1798, which is connected with the events of the French Revolution. Excesses are committed in Ireland against the Orangemen or Protestants. The English government puts a stop to them without remedying the causes which gave them birth. In the nineteenth century the Catholics take legal steps for obtaining the abolition of the measures which weigh upon them. Their petitions remain long unfruitful. The motions made in their favour are rejected by parliament. O'Connell, the great agitator, unceasingly pursues the emancipation of the Irish Catholics, which is finally effected in 1820, on the proposal of the Tories themselves. However, restrictions remain, for the Irish Catholics have to pay tithes to the ministers of the Anglican Church. A law of the 30th April 1846 finally abolishes the penalties against the Catholics of the three kingdoms. Chastisements threaten only those who shall introduce bulls contrary to the oath of fidelity, or foreign societies which shall foment troubles in the country—that of the Jesuits, for example. The

liberty secured to the English Catholics permits the Court of Rome to establish among them a regular hierarchy. A bull of Pius IX. (29th Sept. 1850), sets aside the apostolic vicars who governed their church, and forms the kingdom of England into an ecclesiastical province, having at its head a metropolitan archbishop with twelve suffragans, all appointed by the sovereign pontiff. A general cry of condemnation arose in England against the act. A law is passed, which forbids the taking or giving, without royal authority, any ecclesiastical title implying jurisdiction in the three kingdoms. But the clamours gradually die away; the new order of things maintains itself. In 1869 the House of Commons passes a law for the abolition of the privileges of the Anglican Church in Ireland. The measure is rejected by the Chamber of Peers.

But in our days Anglicanism is itself a prey to a crisis the results of which cannot be foreseen. It will be remembered that in its origin this church was not Protestant. The reform of Henry VIII. consisted only in separating from the Court of Rome, by substituting, for the ecclesiastical government, the king and his parliament for the pope and the cardinals. Protestantism was introduced under Edward VI., but without eliminating the Catholic element. Queen Mary at first led her subjects back to her father's reform, and afterwards to the integrity of the Catholic faith. Under Queen Elizabeth a mixture was made, half Catholic, half Protestant. Her establishment has preserved of Catholicism the episcopate with its revenues and its political privileges, also the liturgy and the sacerdotal ornaments. It admits as its rule the decisions of the Fathers of the four first centuries, and regards the Church of Rome as a true church, the pope as a true bishop. On another side, that same Anglican Church rejects, with Protestants, the authority and the decisions of the Roman pontiffs and on points of doctrine follows the opinions of the reformed Geneva. This double tendency must bring a sunderance between the followers of Anglicanism, these, who are found in the clergy and the higher classes, aim at strengthening the Catholic element, in order to return, if not into the papal church, at least to the

reform of Henry VIII. (they are called "The High Church"); those, that is the popular classes, incline rather toward pure Protestantism (they are called "The Low Church")." In the time of Charles I., Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, attempted to eliminate from Anglicanism the Protestant element, and perished a victim to his enterprise. During the republic of England the Low Church became Presbyterian. Cromwell, who flattered himself with being the head of a new dynasty, restored Anglicanism and its bishops. The Stuarts always favoured the Catholic element. After their expulsion, a certain number of bishops and other members of the clergy, refusing to swear fidelity to William III., formed a Jacobite High Church which ended by disappearing with a hope of the restoration of the Stuarts. But none the less a latent antagonism continued in the bosom of the Anglican Church. It has come into public view in the religious revival of which our period has been the witness.

We have seen, during the eighteenth century, Methodism form itself in the Low Church, and separate to erect itself into a distinct community. This pious movement did not fail to react on the disciples who had not given up the Low Church. Toward the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, there took place in the latter a reform analogous to that of the Methodists. The active portion, taking the name of *Evangelical*, approaches the non-conformists, and affects the manners of pietism. But the zeal is not general. Rationalism openly invades certain strata of the Low Church, which soon falls into indifference. The religious crisis, everywhere brought on by the publications of Strauss and the Tübingen school, has not the power to move it ; it takes no part therein.

But in the bosom of the universities some men become absorbed therewith. Newman and others see in the Catholic principle the remedy for what they regard as the excesses of free inquiry. They apply themselves then to re-constitute the ecclesiastical authority and to defend the dogmas by interrogating the third and the fourth centuries, the Fathers, the *Acts of the Councils*, and even tradition. The tracts which they publish procure for them the title of

*Tractarians.* Doctor Pusey, a man of pure morals, one of the lights of the university of Oxford, soon puts himself at their head. He reforms the practice of baptism and solemnly affirms the real presence. Newman holds that the Anglican Church has never rejected the dogmas of Catholicism, but only the yoke of Roman domination ; he asserts that to deny tradition, its doctrines and its rules, is to destroy Christianity itself. Protests arise on all sides against these assertions. The university of Oxford is accused of popery. Troubles break out in the Churches of London, Oxford, Exeter. The bishops are reproached with favouring the movement. The episcopate sees itself drawn to act with severity. Brought before the diocesan authority the most ardent of the innovators give up their functions. Pusey quits Christ Church, of which he was a canon. Under his direction, anglo-Catholicism tries to establish against Rome the equality of all churches, and against the Protestants the authority of the universal Church and its own, which it deduces from the apostolic succession. "The Church established by Christ," says the doctor, "has legal authority and the exclusive power to declare the truth ; it is one. The Sacraments are bonds which attach the disciples to the church. They are under the guard of a special corporation, which is the mediatrix between Christ and his people. The bishops and the priests, going back to the apostles, are alone the regulators and the governors of religion. The churches founded by the apostles among the different nations are equal each to each, and make parts of the universal church, which alone rules them. This equality of the churches is proved by the history of the first centuries. Rome, allying itself afterwards with the Barbarians, subjected to itself everything in the west, and has broken with the Oriental Church, notwithstanding the identity of their beliefs and their worship. In the fifteenth century, three councils proclaimed the superiority of the Ecumenical Council over the pope. The Church of England, in the following century, put itself into conflict with that of Rome, and all the bonds between them were broken. Whence it follows that the primordial unity of the church resolved itself into three

particular unities ; the Greek Church, the Latin Church, the English Church. The clergy of the last repels now the tutelage of the state, the same as the Roman domination ; in God alone is its strength and its hope." These theories are combatted by vigorous adversaries. But the Anglican bishops and the greater part of their clergy are far from showing themselves hostile to them. For a long time they contested the supremacy of the state, and requested the re-establishment of a national council (the convocation) in matters of faith ; the Anglo-Catholics come to their aid in this particular. A portion of the Anglican Church allows itself to be drawn away, and a High Church is constituted in its bosom. However the Roman Catholics in no way take part in this movement notwithstanding the prepossessions of which they are the object. Far from that, it is at this moment that Pius IX. publishes the Bull which formed the kingdom of England into an ecclesiastical province. From all sides there resounded among the Protestants the cry *No Popery*. They inveighed against the Anglo-Catholics or Puseyites, whom they considered as the accomplices of the Court of Rome. Some of the latter give way, but the majority hold firm, and repel the internal tyranny as well as the papal authority. They form an alliance with the partisans of the High Church. Both deny to lay tribunals all power in matters of dogma. Provincial councils proclaim that the Church of England is essentially one, and declining the royal supremacy, affirm to a general assembly of the clergy belongs the exclusive right of representing the church (1854-1855). They aspire to form a free church in a free state.

The Anglo-Catholics (Puseyites) and the High Anglican Church seem now to be blended into one sole body ; all regard the Church of their country as an undivided portion of Catholic unity. Pusey makes an appeal to the Roman Church within the limits of the faith of the first centuries, that is to say without infallibility and absolute supremacy of the pope ; they would acknowledge in that pontiff solely a primacy in the councils, and a gracious deference in matters of faith. Rome not replying to these advances, the

Anglo-Catholics turn toward the Greek Church. The 5th November 1865 eighty members of the High Anglican Church, prelates and others, assemble, under the presidency of the bishop of Oxford, with high Russian dignitaries and a legate of the Metropolitan of Moscow. In that assembly it is resolved that the Church of England shall send to Moscow several doctors to put themselves into relations with the schools of the East, and that it shall receive into its universities the Orientals, who shall be addressed to them by the clergy of their country.

Such is the actual statement of things. The movement embraces all the Britannic empire. The Puseyites are united with the bishops. This is, with a few exceptions, an identity between Anglo-Catholicism and the High Church. The higher classes, throwing themselves in that direction, abandon Anglicanism, which seems to them too weak a support. The new doctrine is openly taught. The young clergy adopt it with transport, at the same time as the liturgy, the ceremonial, and all the institutions and customs of the Catholic rite. More than half the Anglican ecclesiastics have given in their adhesion. The innovators, who are designated *Ritualists*, reproduce all the dogmas admitted in the fifth century. But in proclaiming the Church of Rome a sister, and the pope a bishop, primate of the West and president of the Ecumenical Council, they none the less resist the other pontifical pretensions ; a council is for them the sole expression of the Church. They repudiate state patronage, and demand ecclesiastical liberty. However, the success of the High Church seems to concentrate itself in the higher classes and in the clerical order. The masses do not desert the Low Church ; and the latter, by a movement inverse to that of the High, tends to approximate to Nonconformity. Affinities of doctrine attach them to the Calvinists and the Presbyterians. What will be the product of this conflict ? Anglicanism, hitherto powerless to seat itself in the kind of just medium which it formerly held, will it dissolve, leaving the Catholic element to return to the Latin Church or to the Greek Church, and the Protestant element to Protestantism ? An Anglo-Catholicism

which counts in its ranks only the upper classes (the estat-major without troops) would it have consistence enough to subsist long by itself ? Would it not be led by the force of things to unite purely and simply with the Roman Catholics as Newman and several others have done ? On the other hand, will the Low Church seek to form a fusion with the dissident communions ? Will not its clergy prefer remaining alone at the head of an official and richly-endowed Church ? This last hypothesis is not without likelihood, but, whatever the dispositions of the clergy, account must be taken, in the question of the future, of the attraction which must be exercised by the immense body of Nonconformists. The liberty of association favours them. Their number, which increases ceaselessly, surpasses at present that of the disciples of Anglicanism. The division which reigns in this last worship is of a nature to facilitate their success singularly. Is it not possible that ere very long England will no longer have an official Church, and that the expenses of Anglicanism will be at the charge of its adherents, as is the case with the other communions ?

The number of sects is unlimited in England ; more than a hundred have been enumerated. The dissenters enjoy most of the privileges of the Established Church. Among them the Unitarians or Socinians are those whose position has most improved in these latter days. The reader will remember that when the Socinians were expelled from Poland in the seventeenth century, a part of them took refuge in England, and that they at first observed their worship in the shade, or mingled with the more tolerant communions. Their sect is afterwards more developed. In the nineteenth century societies of Unitarians establish themselves under the influence of Dr Priestley. Congregations are formed. A chapel is built even in London. Their progress is so rapid that in 1813 the penal laws which had been passed against anti-Trinitarians are abolished. Since then nearly all the more considerable cities of England have their societies of Christians, to whom Jesus is a pure man, servant and envoy of God, mediator between God and men.

The followers of this belief are in general found among the instructed classes ; it has but few disciples in the multitude. The doctrines of Unitarians have long been rising in the different Churches of Europe, principally in the reformed bodies. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century, the pastors of Geneva were accounted pure Socinians. In our days the labours of Protestant Germany contribute much to rally to Unitarianism the men who are not destitute of culture ; but most of them continue to live mingled with the members of other communions without constituting a separate church. It is in the United States of America, a land of absolute liberty in religious matters, that the body of Unitarians will receive all the developments of which it is susceptible. Nearly all the English colonies of Northern America had for their original founders Presbyterians and Puritans, who, preferring flight to abjuration, went in the days of Charles I. to seek on those desert shores the liberty to worship God according to their consciences. The Quakers settled in Pennsylvania toward the end of the reign of Charles II. After the expulsion of the Stuarts, the Nonconformists recover in their own land the free exercise of their worship. The English colonies of America are then peopled with Christians of all communions, some from the Britannic isles and other countries of Europe. These colonies, administrating themselves under the protection of the Government, enjoy, even before the emancipation, entire liberty of conscience. After the conquest of independence (1783) this liberty becomes one of the fundamental bases of the constitution of the new republics. There exists among them no state religion, no dominant Church. No worship is paid out of the public treasury ; the members of each communion provide for its wants. Every one has full liberty to profess that form of religion which he prefers, and to change it when he pleases. The enjoyment of political rights is independent of religious belief, except in two states, Maryland, which requires its citizens to be Christians, and North Carolina, where you must belong to some Protestant Church. All the Christian communions of Europe have representatives in the United States. Although the

government favours no worship, the Protestants do not fail to exercise a preponderating influence by their numbers. In the course of the nineteenth century, the number of sects has greatly increased, either from the immigration of Europeans, who, since 1830, disembark every year by hundreds of thousands, or by the multiplication of new churches which are seen to arise in the country itself. The most considerable at the present day are those of the Calvinists or reformed Christians, Anglicans, Methodists, Lutherans, Unitarians, and Roman Catholics,

The Calvinists form more than the half of the population. They are subdivided into three principal classes : Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, or Independents. The Baptists, who profess Arminian opinions, are distinguished from other Protestants only by the administration of baptism to adults ; they form the majority in a great number of States. The Presbyterians are the sect that approach nearest to the ancient Puritans. They count some sixteen synods, comprising ninety presbyteries, and nearly two thousand churches, served by three hundred pastors. The doctrine of the Congregationalists is nearly the same as that of the Presbyterians ; they are spread in great numbers in the same States as the two preceding ones.

Before the emancipation, the Anglican Church had no bishop in the colonies of North America ; its disciples remained subordinate to the prelates of the mother country. Political revolution modified this order of things. A doctor, elected bishop in 1784, is consecrated by the Episcopacy of Scotland, others are consecrated in 1786 by English prelates. The Anglican Church of the United States is under the government of an annual convention and of a general convention which meets every three years. This last is composed of two chambers, the higher and the lower. One comprehends all the bishops ; the other is formed of the deputies of the dioceses, ecclesiastics, or laymen. Arminianism prevails among the Anglicans of these regions. They have introduced modifications into the doctrine and discipline. The thirty-nine articles have been reduced to twenty.

The Athanasian creed is rejected. However, this Church has suffered great losses from different causes ; and specially by the sunderance of the Methodists. Some ten bishops and seven hundred churches belong to them. The United States are in some way the second native land of Methodism. It is announced in the English colonies as early as the year 1740. Whitefield and the Wesley brothers exercise their propagandist skill there. The two brothers agitate Georgia, and Whitefield stirs up the populations from county to county.

After their return to their mother country, two superintendents or bishops are established in the States of the Union. Methodism has greatly extended in those countries. In 1841, four thousand itinerant ministers were counted there, with five millions of disciples ; and its progress augments from day to day. The general conference of the preachers holds, so to say, the entire country in their hands. Their zeal, however praiseworthy, often borrows from the religious fanaticism of ancient times. It is in the *revivals* of the cities and the *camp meetings* of the western forests that all their ardour is displayed. The camp meetings are preachings in the open air during the night, in the midst of an immense auditory gathered together in ancient forests. They began in the year 1801. This is a means of propagandism practised by all the sects ; but the Methodists do so with enthusiastic fervour. Scenes amounting to almost delirium mingle in the proceedings ; sometimes, alas ! they are sullied with debauchery, as is the lamentable fact with all nocturnal meetings of which religion is the cause or the pretext. American Methodism has some heterogeneous derivatives ; of this number are the *Black Methodists* or *Methodists of Mixed Blood*. This new church, which owes its existence to the antipathy of races, published in 1817 its formulary, one article of which excludes all those who possess slaves. The general conference of the Methodists is composed, we have said, of only itinerant preachers ; settled ministers do not form part of it. This all-powerfulness of the "travelling preachers" has raised active opposition. The settled ministers have protested in union with

the laity. The itinerants having refused the request, a new society has been formed under the name of *Protestant Methodists of the United States*, in which there is no episcopate. The Lutherans of the Union are derived specially from German and Scandinavian immigration. They are principally spread in the central States. Their number is increased from year to year by frequent swarms from Germany.

The Unitarians, whose churches are not numerous in European lands, see in the United States their number augment every day in a large proportion. In Europe, the persons who adopt their opinions, abstain, for the most part, from leaving the church to which they belong. It is not the same in the American Union, the Christian spirit is there more living and more sincere. Each thinks it his duty to practice only according to his belief. Accordingly, the sect of Unitarians makes visible progress there. If the Methodists have more influence over the multitude, the Unitarians attract cultured persons of all communions. It is not solely individual conquests that their churches make ; their opinions are at times embraced by the whole of a community. Several of the old sects have melted into theirs ; that of the Quakers, among others, one of the most important of the Union, has recently gone over to the Unitarians. The Protestant Churches of the United States to-day seem to tend to divide into two principal communions. Methodism for persons who have less light than mystic ardour ; and the religion of Unitarians for those whose intelligence is more cultured. This last church can only gain by the study of the originals of Christianity. The Roman Catholics exist in small number in the Union. Maryland was the sole colony founded by the Catholics of England. But by the treaty of 1763, France gave up the left bank of the Mississippi ; and later on the United States acquired from it Louisiana and the Floridas. These countries were peopled with French and Spaniards. Notwithstanding this addition, the followers of the Roman Church still form but an inconsiderable proportion. Their number has singularly increased in our days, not by proselytism, which has little hold on Protestants, but by the incessant immigration of

Europeans, and specially from Ireland ; three millions of Irish are said to have settled on American soil. If America is a land of promise for those populations of Ireland whom oppression and misery drive from their native land, have the United States ground for unreserved self-congratulation in the accession of foreigners, ignorant and superstitious even to cretinism ? Happily that, dispersed in different States, they are not slow to receive the spirit of their adopted country in the schools of the Union.

## CONCLUSION.

LET us recall some points of this history.

Christ did not modify the Mosaic conception of the divine nature. He simply declared the God of the Jews the God of the universe, and recognising him as the universal creator, he proclaimed him as the universal Father. The oneness of God and his paternal goodness constituted the essence of Christ's religion. The twelve apostles limited themselves to attesting the Messiahship of their Master. Their apostolate addressed itself solely to the Jews, they do not appear to have ever left the land of Israel. They are Hellenistic disciples who announce the Gospel to men of other nations. Paul becomes specially the Apostle of the Gentiles. He spreads the sacred word in Syria, in the island of Cyprus, in Asia Minor, in Macedonia, in Greece, and in the islands. In his last journey to Jerusalem he falls into the hands of justice and remains two years a prisoner in Cæsarea of Palestine. Taken afterwards to Rome he remains two other years under the guard of a soldier. When he is restored to liberty he goes to preach the good news at the confines of the West (Spain) where the governors put him to death. The Jews having risen against the Roman power, Palestine is devastated, Jerusalem taken and destroyed ; more than thirteen hundred thousand Israelites perish in the war. From this time (70) no more is heard of the twelve apostles, nor even from the captivity of Paul in Cæsarea (59). They had, they and he, announced, with the one God of Moses, Jesus his prophet and his Christ, son of Joseph according to the flesh, Son of God according to the Spirit, in the biblical sense ; they differed only on the question of legal observances. The Nazarenes, disciples of the twelve, are considered in Jerusalem as a Jewish sect.

Their communities in that city and in the neighbouring lands are governed after the manner of the Synagogues. Paul in the midst of the nations constitutes his church on the same model.

After the apostles and their first disciples, Christ is transformed day by day in the belief of the Gentiles. The greater part of the Greco-Latins are disposed to ascribe to him the divine nature. At the same time you find in Asia Minor Nazarenes or Ebionites who oppose this doctrine as well as the abolition of legal observances. The dispute continues with ardour until the dispersion of the Jews, under the Emperor Hadrian (135). Then the Nazarene sect loses all consistency, and is no longer regarded as anything but a heresy by the Greco-Latin churches.

Up till now no change had taken place in the mode of governing those churches. They were always directed by the elders (presbyters) elected by the disciples for the occasion, and of whom, in important localities one presided under the name of superintendent (episcopus or bishop). These functions affected no sacerdotal character. But after the dispersion of the Jews, the opinion begins to spread that the ministers of the Christian worship, succeeding to the Israelite priesthood, reproduced its sacred character.

The Christians at first formed insulated societies from city to city, then from province to province. In the second half of the second century, provincial synods begin to assemble. The episcopal power increases from day to day. The bishop of the chief place of the province rises above the others in the quality of metropolitan. The bishop of the chief place of a large region of the empire rules in his turn over the different bishops of that region. The bishop of Rome, the capital of the empire, presides over the entire episcopate. The name of patriarch is afterwards given to the bishops of widely extended regions. The ecclesiastical hierarchy being constituted after the civil hierarchy, the bishops exercise in the church a power not less absolute than that which the *prætors* and the *proconsuls* had in the political order. This state of things was recognised by the Council of Nice (325). From the days of Constantine the

bishops become public functionaries in the religious order. Despots in regard to their subordinates, they are themselves subject to the imperial authority which sometimes makes itself severely felt. The opinion of the Deity of Jesus Christ gains credit at the end of the second century, without however ceasing to be combatted in the two following ones. The dogma of the trinity is subject to discussion during the first third of the third century ; the debate is prolonged until the Council of Nice and long after. The inextricable difficulties engendered by the theories of the trinity and the incarnation of the word are not terminated by definitive formulas until toward the end of the seventh century (680) after the holding of six œcuménical councils. During these intestine struggles, the majority of the polytheistic ceremonies and superstitions crept into the imperial church, especially when Hellenism was proscribed by the edicts of the princes. The worship of the Virgin Mary and of the Saints dates from the fifth and sixth centuries. It is in vain that certain emperors act forcibly against this idolatry ; it finishes by triumphing in the official churches of the East and the West. The foundation of Constantinople modified the Episcopal hierarchy. The title of the Capital of the East and New Rome which the emperors conferred on that city, caused to be assigned to it by the first œcuménical Council that was held (381) the prerogative of honour after the See of ancient Rome, a prerogative which will afterwards implicate jurisdiction. The Roman pontiffs constantly rise against the pretensions of the patriarchs of Constantinople. The Greco-Latin schism springs from the rivalry of the two Sees. In the East the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the relations of the church with the civil power never varied under the Christian emperors. The same order subsists still among the Russians and the modern Greeks. Things took another turn in the Latin Church. After the fall of the Western Empire, the popes at first found themselves in a difficult position under the successive domination of the Goths, the Greek emperors and the Lombards. But their fate changes on the advent of the Carlovingian. The Franks bear sway in Lombardy ; and the See of Rome

breaks with the Emperors of Constantinople, who have in Italy no more than a shadow of power. Under the feeble successors of Charlemagne, and during the feudal anarchy, the papacy conceives the ambitious design of founding a universal theocracy. The Western clergy exercise a large part of public authority as possessors of numerous and powerful lordships. The convents of monks and nuns offer to the supreme pontiff an ardent and devoted militia. This Buddhic institution, which had insinuated itself on trinitarian Christianity, had become weak in the East in consequence of the Moslem conquest; but in the Western Church of the middle ages, it throws out a strong light, and shows itself the firmest support of the Court of Rome, which takes the monks from the episcopal authority, and protects them against the world. The ignorance of these times allows the interested to fabricate titles necessary for the establishment of the papal power. Among other documents, the false decretals, which are presented as the work of the popes of the first ages, are published under the pseudonym of Isidore Mercator; a flagrant imposture, which becomes the principal basis of the pontifical domination! Finally, Gregory VII. undertakes, in temporal as in spiritual matters, to realise the absolute monarchy of the Roman See. After having constituted a veritable sacerdotal caste by the imposition of celibacy on all the members of the clergy, he begins that struggle of the priesthood with the empire, which continues during three centuries, and under one pretext or another, covers Germany and Italy with blood.

At the same time, multitudes of crusaders are let loose by the See of Rome against the Moslems, against the Greeks, against the dissidents of the Western regions. The pope, who declares himself the vicar of God in this world, the infallible rule in politics as in religion, agitates heaven and earth against the princes who will not submit to his supremacy. But if it is recognised by them, you find them completely one in keeping the populations in servitude. If the pontiff is the universal autocrat, the princes are the autocrats of the several states. Between these two powers, often rival, but always united against the people,

liberty cannot emerge and establish itself solidly. Its attempts are forthwith put down by anathemas, supported by fire and sword. The great schism of the West brings on a reaction against the papal authority. The bishops unite with the secular princes to assert the right of which the Court of Rome has deprived both. General Councils declare themselves superior to the pope. The Roman See is for a moment lowered; but it soon regains its lost ground, and succeeds in frustrating the enterprises formed against it.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century opposes the spirit of inquiry to passive obedience, the gospel to the pontifical doctrines, liberty to absolute power. The papacy, in the struggle, ceaselessly invokes against the dissidents force and violence. As it had done to the Albigenses, the Vaudois, the Lollards, the Hussites, it devotes in all places the Protestants to the sword and the faggot. In Germany, it stirs up the religious wars of the sixteenth century and that of thirty years in the seventeenth; in the low countries, the devastations and the massacres of Philip II.; in France, thirty years of persecution, followed by thirty years of civil war and the Saint Bartholomew massacre in the sixteenth century; also the Dragonades toward the end of the seventeenth.\* In Italy and in the Spanish or Portuguese countries of Europe and America, it peoples the dungeons of the Inquisition, multiplies tortures, and burns alive in its "Acts of Faith" myriads of human victims. Yet, the reformers triumph in a great part of Europe. The Roman communion is compelled to resign itself to a complete separation. Then, after the manner of the Pharisees, it more and more surrounds its dogmas with superstitious practices, which hold the populations in its bonds, and serve it for ramparts against other doctrines. The Council of Trent places in the hands of the pope a kind of spiritual dictatorship. But in spite of their incessant claims, all

\* See "The Dragonades of Louis XIV., or, The Barbarous Atrocities of Romanism under Pope Innocent XI.," translated from the French of E. U. Bouzique, by John R. Beard, in the Anti-Papal Library. Smart & Allen, Paternoster Row, London.

temporal power escapes from their hands beyond their own States. In the countries of the Latin rite, there exist then two absolute monarchies—that of the pope in spiritual matters, that of the prince in temporal. Down to the eighteenth century they support each other against liberal tendencies. The people are everywhere held in a state of subjection. The clergy, its sole instructor, bring them up in religious servilism, and consequently in political servilism. Every free thought is extinguished in Austria, Italy, Spain. France alone still preserves some attachment to liberty ; it rejects the Council of Trent and the Inquisition ; it has Protestants and Gallicans who check despotism. While the pope tries to annihilate both by means of the Dragonades and the bull *Unigenitus*, philosophy lends its aid to the aspirations after independence, and to sap the autocracy of popes and kings. The Revolution of 1789 is the date of a new era.

To-day, among the Catholic nations, men of heart and intelligence fight for liberty. But at the same time you see rise against it the clerical interest and spirit of the Roman Church, with which the populations are impregnated. Before these obstacles the most generous efforts fail, the finest hopes vanish. France, after the magnificent antecedents of 1789, passes through the saturnalia of terror to fall under the despotism of Napoleon Bonaparte. The foolish Utopias which contravene one another in 1848 bring terrible collisions, by which the new emperor knows how to profit ; and the folly of his absolute government finally plunges the country into an abyss from which it will rise only with great difficulty, humiliated, mutilated, ruined. In the other Catholic states of Europe, the struggle against the ideas of the middle ages took place first in the name of dynastic pretenders, without the governmental direction ceasing to belong to men of superior education. What will take place on the day, when, falling from their hands, it shall be seized by the popular classes ? Then everything will be possible, except the reign of liberty.

In Protestant regions things take another course. There the beliefs are liberal. The right and duty of free inquiry

passes naturally from religion to politics. Education, directed with this aim, must form free men. The Protestant, trained to read his Bible, receives a liberal education and becomes a man. His spirit is more enlightened, his sense more just. He examines and judges for himself without waiting until an order from on high brings him opinions ready made to his hands, or a direction minutely traced and servilely enforced. He rejects idolatries and superstitions in politics as in worship.

Under any government, the principles of the Reformation prepare men for liberty ; but they do not necessarily lead to the republican form. In this matter the question is overruled by the mode of government established in the Church. Those who uphold the episcopate feel no repugnance to monarchy and aristocracy ; on the contrary, those whose administration is democratic incline towards republicanism. Thus the Calvinists of Switzerland and of Holland have formed themselves into a republic, while the Episcopalians of England, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark preserve royalty. In Europe, however, particular circumstances have in certain countries favoured a form of government discordant with the principle of their Church, such as the necessities of the struggle against the papists, the attachment for a princely family, or other causes of a similar kind. Nothing of the kind exists on the new continent. These things follow their natural bent. Thus you everywhere in the political order find the consequences of the religious principle which prevails in each country. In the United States, where most of the communions are governed democratically, republicanism subsists in full force and vigour ; it seems the necessary condition of the nation. Two causes, however, after the abolition of slavery, may disturb its future—one is the indefinite extension of territory, which will necessitate more force in the central power and less autonomy in the particular states ; the other is connected with the increase of Roman Catholics, whether by the annexation of neighbouring countries, or by immigration from Europe.

The old possessions of Spain have equally founded repub-

lies in the north and south of the American continent. Catholicism rules exclusively among them, as in the mother country. The ignorance and the superstition of the popular masses are not less great. Accordingly, the new states seem little suited to the governmental form which they have adopted. The inevitable struggle between the clericals and the friends of liberty keeps them in continual agitation. Power is rarely transmitted by free and regular elections. The presidents are, for the most part, only military dictators. Force puts them in the chair of state ; and some time after they are dispossessed by a contrary force. Under the name of a republic, it is still absolute which power dominates in those regions, in the State as in the Church.

Let us, then, with the history of all time, acknowledge that the governmental principle of a country is intimately connected with its religious principles. The Protestants, who possess the right of free inquiry, are predestinated to a free government. But the Catholic populations, who are trained in view of the papal autocracy and passive obedience, do even conceive the idea of political liberty. Accordingly, not when by chance some circumstance puts them in movement, they know not whither to go nor where to stop. In their blind turbulence, they allow themselves to be drawn into all follies, all extremes. Among the modern Catholics, the beliefs that are infused into youth are modified in the sequel with the greater number of enlightened men. Some, throwing off all care for Christianity, become Voltairians, Positivists, Free Thinkers ; others, taking refuge in indifference, do not leave their Church, although they no longer believe in its dogmas. The popular classes, especially in the rural districts, better preserve the religious opinions which have been transmitted to them ; they have neither time nor means to acquire new ones.

The Voltairians and the Free Thinkers will say to us perhaps—Why do you speak to us of the principles of the Reformation ? Have we not long been seeking for them ? We have carried their consequences farther than the Protestants themselves. Do you wish us to retrograde ? How

many are you, we may reply to them, how many are you among the nations ? One in a thousand ? One in a hundred ? What influence do you exercise over the multitude of men ? While you recruit one by one some ephemeral followers, the religions, which spread in all places, take the children in their cradle and make successive generations one. Can you struggle in proselytism with them ? What dogmas, what rites, what missionaries have you to oppose to them ? Will you renew the pompous festivities of the Supreme Being, or the philosophic recreations of the Theophilanthropists ? When have you come to an agreement on your beliefs ? Is there a system accepted by you all ? No ; you live in the confusion of individual opinions. The sole point in common with you is the rejection of existing religions. You deny everything and affirm nothing. You are only a negation. Now a positive doctrine is necessary to rally and conduct human societies. Have you ever reflected that religion ought to welcome man at his birth, to bring him up, to instruct him, to direct him through the trials of life ? It is from religion, it is in its assemblies, that the majority of men receive the only moral instruction that is given them. That unlettered family who live by the labour of its hands, where otherwise shall it find the word which enlightens it, the bread of life which strengthens it ? Leave to people of leisure reveries and hypotheses. Nations wish for something more serious and more substantial. A religion is replaced only by another religion. Do you know any that is preferable to that of the gospel ? If there is none, choose among the Christian sects ; take that which seems freest from alloy, the most in conformity with the spirit of the Master, the most in harmony with the spirit of liberty, which in our days ought to actuate political societies, under the penalty of supercession. We do not deny, the indifferentists will say, that religion is necessary to social organisation. Accordingly, born in the Roman Church, we make no effort to quit it. Solely we have for our parts thrown away certain dogmas, a crowd of superstitions, and specially its despotic intolerance. We fully leave to each the right to follow the worship which he prefers, and even to follow

none, if it seems good to him. Are we not sincere friends of liberty? No. Doubtless you no longer remain among the disciples of Catholicism. You disallow its special dogmas, its superstitions, and its intolerance; have the Protestants done anything else? Catholics by the force of education, Protestants by your thoughts, you are, to say the truth, neither the one nor the other. In childhood your head bent under the sacerdotal yoke. Now you have not strength to lift it up. If you do not show the submission of a slave, the impossibility of the corpse, as Loyola desires, you have not the independence of a free man, the activity of a living body. You will be indifferent in politics as well as in religion. You will not put down liberty yourself, but you allow it to be put down by others. You lack the faith of Catholicism; but you act as if you still retained it. Your apparent adhesion gives it strength, and if you have children, you will intrust their education to that which you condemn.

What you ask for, they will reply, does not suit the present state of morality. No longer is this the time for changes of worship, for solemn abjurations. We live in the nineteenth century, not in the sixteenth. Each more or less follows the religion in which he was born and bred. But were he to desert it to ally himself with another, everybody would heap on him irony and sarcasm. It is permitted not to go to mass; alas for you! if you attend preaching!—For him who is convinced that the question of liberty lies entirely in the religious question, such considerations will be of little value. Truly, it is not such as you that are wanted at this moment. You have put under your feet the beliefs peculiar to the Church of Rome, your conversion is complete; preaching would add nothing to it. The same may be said of most men in the upper classes. A university training predisposes them to the ideas of liberty; and when they have succeeded in overcoming their habits of blind faith, of passive obedience, they possess resources for learning what is the true state of things. But, look at the popular masses, (universal suffrage requires that we should attend to their education more than ever); the greater num-

ber of them still drag the chains of superstition, and cannot give themselves the education which would break them. To them the word of the Church is necessary. Why interdict them the privilege ? Why not encourage them by your presence ? Those men of the people know only the worship into which they were born. Often they do not suspect that there can exist any other. If some of them have heard dissent or heresy vaguely spoken of, it has been under features and colours abominable and repulsive. In the cities, sometimes you meet among them those who labour under doubt from contact with more instructed persons ; but ordinarily, they remain in ignorance for want of a stimulus. Would it be the same if some political interest presented itself to their eyes ? Put the question of worship in the point of view of liberty. Tell them what in substance is the difference between the Roman Church and the Protestant communions ; you will be astonished to see with what readiness they understand and follow you. That reformation, which is described to them as a monster, was already confusedly brought about in the mind of a good number of them. As soon as they shall have exactly seized the points of divergence, they will not hesitate to reject the pontifical theories in order to accept the pure truth, the truth which will make them free. In rural districts, success will doubtless be more difficult. In the insulation in which the inhabitants live, ideas rarely come from without. Accordingly they hold tenaciously to their old traditions and superstitions ; they are one with their notions, their recollections, their habits. Is it not among the inhabitants of the villages (in Latin *pagani*, whence our pagans) that polytheism found its last refuge ? Is it not by them that its superstitions of all kinds have been inoculated on imperial Christianity ? Your error is great, it will be alleged, if you think you can meet with such a love of liberty as ensues from a religious struggle ; for struggle you must, and severely ; but who will undertake to roll the stone up the hill ? Then, when beliefs have vanished, prejudices still subsist. Who will consent to take up an eccentric position, to brave common opinion, to break off his social relations, to renounce his

friendships ? Who will resolve to combat ceaselessly in the interior of his family ? The grandmother, the mother, the wife, the sister—all the female race will harass you. The Roman faith seems to address itself specially to women. It is they that divinised the mother of Christ ; it is they that are confessed and directed by the priests ; and by them the priest reaches, and largely governs all classes, not to say all men. What we have said of the people may be repeated of the women. They are ignorant of the points of difference between the two communions. They have ordinarily less information than men ; and as their soul is more loving, they easily allow themselves to follow the inspirations of the only form of worship with which they are acquainted. Nevertheless, in spite of their prejudices, do not account them incapable of understanding and reasoning ; but the cause of liberty will in general touch them less than us ; it is not from them that impulse is to be expected. However, your evasive replies and your ceaseless objections, show sufficiently, champions of indifference, that you are not yourselves disposed to pay in your own person the requisite cost of liberty and culture. You have neither the will sufficiently strong nor the intellect clear enough from prejudices. But if you resign yourselves to live under the sacerdotal power, if your contemporaries seem to you too vitiated for the vigorous efforts necessary for the foundation of a free state, will you not attempt at least to prepare another destiny for future generations ? Will you leave your sons to be corrupted by the same errors as you have fought against, to be involved in the same bonds as hold and paralyse you ? Is it not your duty to enlighten their minds, to form their hearts, to guide them in the right way ? You surely will not consider your duty done when you say, We shall do as did our fathers ? Your fathers acted according to their beliefs. If your beliefs are ameliorated, if you have more knowledge, are you not thereby obliged to transmit to your children a purer faith, a more solid course of instruction ? Some strong-minded man will say : All positive religions contain more or less errors : why choose amongst them ? I will bring up my children naturally. Is then in your opinion the point

more or less in respect of errors of no concern ? If there remain some in Protestant, the Pontifical Church possesses the same, and a number of others much more considerable. Reflect, moreover, that error does not bind in Protestant Communions. Free inquiry is there to discover and discard it. The gospel alone is stable. The word of Christ abides for ever. The life of Christ is an ever burning lamp and a ceaseless as well as genial fire. It is not so in Catholicism. There the church is a petrification. Errors the most evident, theories the most incredible, are those which it propagates with the most fervent zeal, which it defends with tenacity the most obstinate ; and its superstitions, far from lessening, are multiplied from year to year. You will, you say, educate your sons according to your light. It is an illusion. Not to aid them to a religion is to leave them a prey to that which bears sway in your country ; it will soon succeed in throwing its chains around them, them and theirs ; its doctrines and influences are breathed in with the air. There are other men who proclaim themselves Catholics and friends of liberty. They think themselves such, without doubt, but certainly they make a Catholicism to suit themselves, and a liberty of a very peculiar nature. The Catholicism of Rome and liberty exclude each other. However, if you are imbued with pontifical opinions, whether or not you deceive yourselves as to their consequences, it seems natural that you should encourage the same convictions in your sons. You fancy that you nourish them with pure truths, while you pour into their minds fables, legends, conceptions of sacerdotal interests, superstitions inherited from paganism or born in the darkness of the middle ages. Because even they will probably reject all these things ; happy then if the pressure of the reaction does not lead them to the opposite extreme ! Whatever happens, you, their father, are free from reproach it is your own belief that you led them to accept.

But you, disabused man, who for a long time have repelled the special doctrines of the Latin rite, those which make the difference between it and other communions, the

choice of a church for your young family ought to be in your eyes nothing else than a question of moral and political education. Which in this relation is better, the worship of God in spirit or miserable superstitions, the morality of the Gospel or that of the Jesuits, a conscience free or monkish debasement ? Will you send your son to the instructions of the Roman clergy, when you are convinced that together with the truths common to all Christian sects, they will teach him a heap of errors and mummeries and any number of maxims which you emphatically disapprove ? Look at the inconsistency. The child goes to the church in the thought that he will learn there the word of God, and that it will be expounded to him by ministers having a super-human character. What more serious and more imposing ? Then returning home he will often hear you turn into ridicule what the priest taught ; the theories which he tried to make him like, you combat energetically ; the observances which he prescribed, you, instead of practising, make an object of mockery. Do you not see the dangers of such contradictions ? In the midst of the collision which side will he take ? If he believes with his fellow scholars what he is taught in the church, if his estimate of the priest's authority prevails over your influence, what a painful position is yours ! How will you be lowered in his eyes ? You will appear to him as an impious person who cares nothing for divine things, an impostor who calumniates the intentions of the ministers of worship. So much the more will he value highly the other side, and if he has some little tendency to mysticism, superstitious instincts or weakness of character, I leave you to divine what will be the ulterior results. On the other hand, if your word has greater weight than that of the priests, he will no longer believe anything that is said in the church. You wish to guard him against false opinions, superstitious practices, anti-social maxims ; do you not fear that he will at the same time reject the ideas of pure morality, the evangelical words which make part of the instruction in all the churches ? Can he set up distinctions and say, There is the truth, there is error ? Authority will be lost both on your

side and the side of the priest. Every thing will be suspected ; every belief will be effaced, every principle will be put in peril. Not in this way do sensible and upright men act in regard to their children ; they do their utmost to inculcate ideas the most sacred and to form characters equally simple and strong. The instruction and training of our younger years form the man and the woman for life. Fathers who are serious in this grave matter take good care to secure manifest harmony between their own acts and their own beliefs, and are specially careful not to allow their children to be impregnated with doctrines which they themselves condemn in their heart of hearts.

Let us repeat then : from the sixteenth century two religious systems divide Christian society ; one based on the Gospel and free inquiry, the other overrun with human traditions and controlled by sacerdotal autocracy ; one bringing to the nations independence and progress, the other subjection and decline. Protestantism is living liberty ; the pontifical church in despotism is flesh and bones. A choice must be made ; the future depends thereon. If you desire that your children be not fashioned for servitude, but liberty, self-reliance, and force of character, as well as great and noble lives, have them educated by the churches of the Reformation ; these are they that founded or maintained individual and social independence in Switzerland, Holland, England, the United States of America ; these are they that will consolidate it in northern Germany and the Scandinavian regions. Do you prefer for your country the rod of an all-powerful tyrant, send your children to the Church of the middle ages, to the church of Gregory VII. and Innocent III., which in the Council of Trent became the church of the Jesuits and Philip II., and of which the last General Council aimed to strengthen still more the spirit of absolutism. With the education they will have received in that church, your children and grandchildren will experience revolutions and counter-revolutions, be ruled by despots of all shades and aims, such

as the Medici, Borgia, Robespierre, Bonaparte, Santa Anna, and Rosa ; they will engender and support sectaries of all colours, Carbonari and San-Fedists, Saint Simonians, Phalansterians, Solidaires and others ; but a home, a city, a nation of free men they will never possess.

THE END.

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SIMPLIFIED.

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# THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

BY

E. U. BOUZIQUE,

A RETIRED MEMBER OF THE FRENCH LEGISLATURE, AND THE FRENCH  
BAR, AND AUTHOR OF "LES SATIRES DE JUVENAL  
TRADUITS EN VERS FRANCAIS," ETC.

*Translated from the French Original with the concurrence and approbation of the Author.*

BY JOHN R. BEARD, D.D.

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Most ecclesiastical histories have been drawn up by scholars who, imbued with the dogmas and prejudices of their several churches, have naturally made it their object to throw them into relief. You will accordingly find in their narratives prolix statements descriptive of their several communities and colourings reflected from their respective forms of faith ; they give you in detail the doctrines and deeds of confessors, monks, and ecclesiastics ; they support their accounts by legends and wonders, more or less brought forth by credulity and superstition ; or they strew their books with dissertations on the points of controversy which their communion is meant to foster or uproot. They are almost exclusively the histories of churches, and not of the religion of the Great Teacher Himself. Naturally they are to a large extent unreliable and as tedious as they are bulky.

"The History of Christianity" which Monsieur Bouzique has written, is composed from a totally different point of

view. Free from personal engagements and ecclesiastical prepossession, the author aims in every case to ascertain the pure and simple truth by subjecting the several sources to a rigorous and impartial examination. With him religious history has no other *criteria* than profane; what is not admissible for the latter, he does not admit into the former. It is therefore no part of his duty to justify under the colour of holy zeal, deeds contrary to good sense or sound morals. Nor is he called upon to glorify the pains and penalties which pious extravagance has inflicted on their patrons. Equally is it not within his task to set forth, still less to honour and sanctify, the untruths and idolatries bequeathed by paganism, ignorance and superstition. Relieved of these burdens, he gains space for narrating within the space of three small volumes, the real historical constituents of the religion of Christ. Accordingly, from the earthly life and surroundings of Jesus of Nazareth, the reader sees Christianity emerge, gather strength, and diffuse its blessings over civilised society first, and then over the greater part of the world. In thus spreading its light, power and glory, it comes into contact with lower influences by which it is discoloured and perverted century after century, until "the times of Reformation," when a cleansing and restorative process comes into operation, by which "the day-spring from on high" gradually illuminates and blesses the earth. The regeneration, proceeding in the main from intrinsic elements, is aided by the spirit of modern times, and particularly by free inquiry and successive systems of philosophy. The great result, thus disengaged from the accumulated rubbish of long centuries, presents the pathway through the ages of one God, the Creator and Father of all, and one Lord Jesus Christ, the universal Teacher and Saviour of the human race.

The vast variety of the matters that are here handled may be ascertained by the reader's carefully perusing the following summaries which are copied from the volumes, and may serve as a general Index to their contents.

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The Second period, or the Imperial Church, from the Council of Nice to the Schism of Photius:

The Third period, or the Church of the Middle Ages, from the Schism of Photius to the Reformation:

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